

EDUCATION IN INDIA

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PREFACE

This book is the revised and enlarged third edition of *Education in India*. It is intended for the use of students of Secondary Teachers' Training Colleges and for the information of teachers and others interested in the history of education in our country from the earliest times to the present. It is hoped that it will fulfil its purpose.

K.S.V.

S.N.

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*Where the mind is led forward by Thee
Into ever widening thought and action—
 Into that heaven of freedom,
My Father, let my country awake.*

—TAGORE

PART I

ANCIENT PERIOD

"Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence."

F. W. Thomas

"At no period of its history has India been an altogether unenlightened country. Inscriptions on stone and copper, the palm-leaf records of the temples, and, in later days, the widespread manufacture of paper, all alike indicate not only the general knowledge, but also the common use of the art of writing. From the earliest times the caste of Brahmans has preserved, by oral tradition as well as in mss., a literature unrivalled alike in its antiquity and in the intellectual subtlety of its contents."

Lord Meston

AFTER their settlement in the Indo-Gangetic Valley, the Aryans organised themselves into four classes according to the manner in which they served the whole community. Hence

Organisation of resulted four castes : (1) Brahmans who
Society in served as pastors and masters of the commu-
Ancient India nity, (2) Kshatriyas who fought for the
protection of the community, (3) Vaishyas
who cultivated lands for the community and provided food
and other necessities of life and distributed them to the
members of the community in the parts in which they had
settled, and (4) Shudras who laboured on behalf of the commu-
nity. Of these, Brahmans or the priestly class devoted them-
selves to the work of acquisition, conservation, and promotion
of knowledge and of its transmission to posterity. They took
it to be their duty to learn and teach; to learn in order to
teach, and to teach in order to learn. Thus, the whole learned
section of the community undertook the duty of serving as
educators of the people.

Next, life was mapped out into four periods or stages
(Ashramas) : (1) student life (व्रह्मचर्याश्रम), (2) married life

Organisation of (गृहस्थाश्रम), (3) life of retirement (वानप्रस्थाश्रम),
Life in Ancient and (4) life of renunciation of the world
India (संन्यास). Of these, the first period of student
life ran from the age of 5 to 18 years and
comprised the years of childhood and adolescence. In order
that students could devote themselves entirely to their studies

and remain free from all worldly distractions, a life of celibacy was enjoined on them and, to emphasise its importance, this stage of their life was named (ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम), or period of celibacy.

It was, however, thought, and rightly, that a child's education did not begin with the teacher to whom he went for study at the beginning of his student life (ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम), but with the mother who brought him into this world. It was held that the physical, mental, and moral endowment of the child depended on the mother—on the manner in which she led her married life. Several religious ceremonies were, therefore, instituted and prescribed with the object of insuring the health of the prospective child. These ceremonies still persist.

On the first appearance of signs of puberty (रजोदर्शन), a married woman was given instructions as regards her conduct in her marital relations with her husband.

After the inception of pregnancy (गर्भधान), पुंसवन, and सीमन्तोन्नयन ceremonies were performed and the prospective mother was instructed to take good care of her health, have pure thoughts, and live in peaceful surroundings, so that she could stimulate her child's mental powers, form its character, and instil spiritual force into its mind.

After the birth of the child, instructions were given to the mother for its proper feeding and upbringing at the जातकर्म and अन्नप्राशन ceremonies.

Thus, due provision was made, through religious ceremonies, for pre-natal and post-natal care of the child.

When the child grew up to the age of 5 years, home education of the child विद्यारम्भ (teaching of letters and numbers) was commenced ceremoniously with a salutation to Shiva (ॐ नमः शिवाय) and the tracing of the fifty letters of the alphabet with a pen on a flat surface covered with white cloth and strewn over with rice. Home education continued till the child reached the age of 8, 11 or 12, according as it belonged to the Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaishya caste.

Then came the time for the मौजीकन्धन (tying of girdle made of *munja* grass) or उपनयन ceremony, which was designed to initiate the child into student life (ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम). उपनयन

literally means 'taking near' (the teacher). It placed the child under the care and direction of the teacher. Thenceforward,

the child was to live with his teacher as
Student Life a member of his family and serve him in every way : he was to collect fuel in the forest, fetch water, tend the sacred fire, and do all that he was required to do. He was to practise vows of celibacy and poverty, and live by begging alms. Living on alms had a very salutary effect. It taught him humility and impressed on him his indebtedness to society, for education. It brought home to society, on the otherhand, its responsibility for the education of the rising generation. Further, it discountenanced class distinctions by requiring the poor and the rich alike to beg. At the ceremony the pupil was addressed as follows : "Thou art a Brahmachari. Be diligent and persevering. Do not sleep during the day, Learn the Vedas under thy teacher. Follow thy teacher in everything except that in which he errs. Renounce anger and untruth. Do not commit excess in bathing, eating, sleeping, walking. Give up slander, covetousness, greediness, fear and sorrow. Get up early in the morning and devote thyself to meditation. Do not take meat, wine, or pungent things."

Brahmacharis wore cloth of hemp, flax, or wool, carried a staff and a deerskin, and tied a girdle round their waist.

This ceremony, the performance of which was obligatory on Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas alike made child education practically compulsory among a large section of the people.

The *Utsarjana* (dispersal) ceremony marked the close of each year's work.

The *Upakarma* or *Shravani* ceremony performed on Shravana Poornima (full-moon day in the month of Shravana) marked the commencement of the new year's programme. At this ceremony the work of the preceding year was reviewed and the work of the new year was arranged.

The *Snana* or *Samavartana* ceremony marked the close of student life and the time of return home by the student.

The ceremony consisted in the student renouncing the girdle and the deerskin, which he wore during his student life, taking bath in scented water, taking leave of the teacher, and giving him

Gurudakshina (teacher's fee) according to his means. At the time of parting, the teacher advised him as follows :

"Speak the truth. Practise virtue. Do not neglect thy study. Make a handsome present to thy teacher. Do not cut off the line of progeny. Become a householder and do not allow thy family to be extinct.¹

"Do not swerve from truth. Do not swerve from virtue. Do not swerve from the path of welfare. Do not neglect what is good. Do not neglect thy study and thy teaching.

"Do not neglect thy duty to God and parents. Worship thy mother as a God. Worship thy father as a God. Worship thy teacher as a God. Worship thy guest as a God.

"Whatever is blameless in our conduct thou mayest copy, nothing else. Whatever is good in our conduct thou mayest adopt, nothing else.

"Brahmans who may be superior to us should be honoured by thee with a seat. Give with faith. Do give without faith. Give liberally. Give modestly. Give with fear (that thou art not giving enough). Give with sympathy.

"If a doubt arises as to how thou shouldest act or behave, act as wise Brahmans of the place, dedicated to good deeds, not led by others, not cruel, and devoted to virtue, behave.²

Surely, an address such as this would very fittingly serve as the Chancellor's address at the Annual Convocation of any modern university.

It is worthy of note that the address places truthful speech and virtuous conduct before continuance of study and that it exhorts the student who has completed his studies to enter into married life.

¹ सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर । स्वाध्नायात्मा प्रमदः । आचार्याय प्रियं धनमाहृत्य प्रजातन्तु मा व्यवच्छेसीः ।

² सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । धर्मान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । कुशलान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यम् । स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् ॥

देवपितृकार्यभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । मातृदेवो भव । पितृदेवो भव । आचार्यदेवो भव । अतिथिदेवो भव ॥

यान्यनवदानि कर्मणि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि । नो इतराणि । यान्यस्माकं सुचरितानि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि । नो इतराणि ॥

It will be seen from the above that in ancient India, society was so organised and life was so mapped out as to provide a ceaseless supply of teachers and to set apart a definite period in the life of every Brahman, Kshatriya, and Notable Features Vaishya for education. Each stage of life was marked off and sanctified by an appropriate religious ceremony which, in course of time, became part of the social life of the people.

Education was free and accessible to all (except to Shudras) who sought it, though in later times it came to be restricted to Brahmans and refused to other castes. Buddhists who had no castes, however, imparted education to all without any restriction or discrimination.

Rulers of the country had nothing directly to do with education. It was a private affair of the people, managed entirely by Brahmans. Rulers of the country could subsidise it, if they thought fit to do so, with grants of land or money, but could impose no conditions or control on teachers, affecting their freedom of work. The teachers depended for the maintenance of themselves and of the pupils who received instruction from them on the goodwill of the people whom they served and were influenced in their work only by their opinion.

Teachers were a highly honoured class—honoured even by kings. Kings rose from their thrones to receive great teachers, such as Narada, Vashishtha, and Vishwamitra. A well-known Sanskrit verse goes so far as to say : The teacher is Brahma. The teacher is Vishnu. The teacher is the Great God Shiva. The teacher is the Great Brahman (Supreme Divine Soul) incarnate. Bow to that teacher !¹

ये के चास्मच्छ्रेयसो ब्राह्मणः तेषां त्वयासनेन प्रश्वसितव्यम् । अद्या देयम् । अश्रद्या देयम् । हिया देयम् । भिया देयम् । संविदा देयम् ।

अथ यदि ते कर्मविचिकित्सा वा वृत्तविचिकित्सा वा स्यात् ये तत्र ब्राह्मणः समदर्शिनो यूक्ता अयूक्ता अलूक्ता धर्मकामाः स्तुर्यथा ते तत्र वर्तेरन् तथा तत्र वर्तेथाः ॥

अथाभ्याख्यातेषु ये तत्र ब्राह्मणः समदर्शिनो युक्ता अयुक्ता अलूक्ता धर्मकामाः स्तुर्यथा ते तेषु वर्तेरन् तथा तेषु वर्तेथाः ॥

Taittireeyopanishad (Shikshavalli)

¹ गुरुब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णु गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।

गुरुः साक्षात् परंब्रह्मा तस्मै श्रीगुरुवे नमः ॥

Teachers behaved as parents to their pupils, and pupils behaved as members of the teacher's family. There was perfect harmony between them. *Vinaya Pitaka*, one of the well known Buddhist religious works, enjoined : "The teacher should regard the pupil as his son, and the pupil should regard the teacher as his father."

The attitude of the pupil was to be one of complete submission. Arjuna said in the *Bhagvadgita* : 'I am thy pupil. Direct me. I am come to thee.'¹ In another place, Krishna said to Arjuna : "Learn through humility, repeated questioning, and service."²

Teachers and pupils lived together and so identified themselves with one another as to be able to pray as follows :

"May both of us be guarded ! May both of us be protected ! May both of us work together ! May the study of both of us be successful (vibrant with power, radiant with light) ! May we not be rivals to each other ! Om, Peace, Peace, Peace."³

"May there be fame for us both ! May there be the light of spiritual knowledge for us both!"⁴

There were no school fees and no teachers' salaries properly so called.

Knowledge (विद्या) sought in ancient India was of two kinds : Lower (अपरा) and Higher (परा). Lower knowledge was knowledge of the Vedas and the Vedangas (phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, prosody and astronomy),⁵ while higher knowledge was that by which the immutable was reached.⁶ In *Chhandogya Upanishad*, (8th century, B. C.), Narada is reported to have said to Sanatkumar that he had studied *Rigveda*, *Yajurveda*,

¹ शिष्यस्तेहं शाधि मां त्वां प्रपन्नम् । Ch. II, 5.

² तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया । Ch. IV, 34.

³ सहनावतु । सह नौ भुनक्त । सह वीर्यं करवावहै । तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु । मा विद्विषावहै । ओं शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥ *Kathopanishad*.

⁴ सह नौ यशः सह नौ ब्रह्मवर्चस् । *Taittireeyopanishad*.

⁵ Cf. subjects of the trivium—grammar, logic, and rhetoric (the arts of expression) and the quadrivium—arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy (the arts of practical use in life) which were studied in Europe in the Middle ages.

⁶ *Mundakopanishad*, II.

Samaveda, Atharvaveda, history and mythology, grammar, science of ancestral worship, mathematics, science of omens, science of time, logic, polity, etymology, phonetics, science of spirits, science of weapons, astronomy, science of snake-charming, and fine arts, but that thereby he had attained merely knowledge of the texts, not of self : to which, agreeing, Sanatkumar said that it was all a study of words, not of self. Thus, it will appear that the ultimate aim of education in ancient India was not knowledge as preparation for life in this world or for life beyond, but for complete realisation of self—for liberation of the soul from fetters of life, both present and future. That knowledge was real, which led to emancipation—सा विद्या या विमुक्तये—led from unreality to reality, from darkness to light, from death to immortality.¹

The immediate aim of education, however, was to prepare the different castes of people for their actual needs of life.

The subjects of instruction varied according to the vocational needs of the different castes—from the Vedas and Vedangas in the case of Brahmans, to the art of warfare in the case of Kshatriyas, and to agriculture and trade, arts and crafts in the case of Vaishyas.

The method of instruction generally consisted in recitation by the teacher and repetition by the pupil, followed by explanation by the teacher, questioning by the pupil, and discussion between the teacher and the pupil. In a literature lesson, it consisted in पदच्छेद (separation of words joined by sandhi), अन्वय (constructing or re-arrangement of words in grammatical order), समासचिग्रह (dissolution of compound words), पदार्थ कथनम् (giving meanings of words), and तात्पर्य (substance of the whole). In writing, the following was the dictum :

समानि समशीर्षाणि वर्तुलानि घनानि च ।
मात्रास्तु प्रतिबद्धानि यो जानाति स लेखकः ॥

¹ असतो मा सद्गमय ।
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय ॥
मृत्योर्मृतं गमय ॥

(He is a writer who knows how to write letters of similar size, with concurrent headlines, round, and thick, and well joined to vowel-marks).

In such subjects as logic, it consisted in statement (प्रतिज्ञा), reasoning (हेतु), illustration (उदाहरण), application (उपनय), and conclusion (निगमन).

The word Upanishad which is the common title of all the philosophical works on the Vedanta, by itself indicates the method of discussion that was usually employed in the teaching of philosophical subjects.

It was held that the student learnt only one-fourth from the teacher, one-fourth by himself, one-fourth from fellow-students, and one-fourth by experience in later life.¹

Though much memorising was done, parrot-like or frog-like recitation was held up to ridicule. A mere memoriser was likened to a living pillar or a bearer of burden.

Yaska said :

"The person who is able only to recite the *Veda* but does not understand its meaning is like a post or a mere bearer of a load. For the words that are simply memorised and not understood will merely sound when uttered, not enlighten, just as wood, be it never so dry, will not blaze if it is put into what is not fire."

Pupils were taught individually, not *en masse* by the class method. Where pupils were many, the monitorial plan was followed; the more advanced pupils being appointed to teach the less advanced. Even today, Sanskrit Pathashalas are conducted on these lines. When a teacher of Takshashila was required to go on some business to Benares, he entrusted his work of teaching to his senior student, saying : "My son, I leave this house. During my absence, you are to instruct my students."

A passage in the *Taittireeya Upanishad* shows the relations of the teacher, the pupil, the subject of teaching, and the method of teaching as follows :

अथाधिविद्यम् । आचार्यः पूर्वरूपम् । अन्तेवास्युत्तररूपम् ।

विद्या संधिः । प्रवचनम् संधानम् । ईत्यधिविद्यम् ॥

¹ *Nirukta*, I. 18.

(Thus in respect of knowledge the teacher is the front part. The pupil is the back part. Knowledge is the link. Exposition is the connecting force).

Compare with this passage written more than two thousand years ago the following from modern books on Education :

“Teaching has a two-fold aspect—on the one hand it regards the pupil, and on the other it regards the subject taught. Between these two it tries to establish the relation we call knowledge.”¹

“In both cases (the teaching process and the educative), there are two forces concerned, both imply an active and a passive member : there is the teacher and there is the pupil, the educator and the educand. The interaction between these pairs is essential to teaching and to education. There must always be a teacher or educator pole and a pupil or educand pole.”²

The comparison will show how clear teachers in ancient India were in their conception of the relations of the factors involved in the teaching or educative process.

The method of study consisted in श्रवण, मनन, and निर्दिष्यासन—listening to the teacher, reflection on what had been listened to, and its constant repetition (revision).

It was, however, not considered enough for a student merely to study and acquire knowledge : it was necessary for him to put his knowledge to use and to impart it to others at public fairs, feasts, and festivals. Nor was it enough for the teacher merely to teach. His duty was to gather knowledge from various sources, to use it himself, to impart it to others, and to make them use it. The word आचार्य (teacher) was explained as follows :

आचिनोति च शास्त्रार्थानन्यानाचरत्वत्पि ।
स्वयमाचरति चैव तस्मादाचार्य उच्यते ॥

(The teacher is so called, because he himself acquires knowledge, then imparts it to others, and himself uses it.)

Travel was regarded as necessary to give a finishing touch to education.

Education was for education's sake, not for a public examination or for paid public or private service, as it is generally considered to be at present. It was not merely intellectual. It

¹ Lloyd Morgan, *Logical Bases of Education*, p. 1.

² Adams, *The Evolution of Educational Theory*, p. 18.

was also moral, religious, and spiritual. In Buddhistic communities, it was open not merely to twice-born castes of Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, but to all castes including Shudras.

The place of education was generally the forest 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife'—in Buddhistic times, Vihara.

The medium of instruction in institutions conducted by Brahmans was Sanskrit, and in those conducted by Buddhists-Bhasha, the current spoken language of the people.

There was, generally, no corporal punishment. Self-control or self-discipline was considered to be the best discipline. Self-indulgence (*स्वच्छेद*) was permitted in childhood, restraint or control (*नियमन*) was imposed in boyhood; self-discipline (*संयमन*) was expected in adolescence, and freedom (*स्वातन्त्र्य*) was allowed in adult age. According to Kautilya, the period of discipline for a boy ended at the age of sixteen.

A well known Sanskrit verse says :

राजवत् पंच वर्षाणि दश वर्षाणि दासवत् ।

प्राप्ते हु घोडशौ वर्षे पुत्रं मित्रवदाचरेत् ॥

(The child may be treated as a king during the first five years, as one requiring guidance during the next ten years, and as a friend on attainment of the sixteenth year.)

In the earlier Vedic and Upanishad times, girls were free to go through the Upanayana ceremony, wear the sacred thread, live a life of celebacy (ब्रह्मचर्य), Vedas, Vedangas, and other

Girls' subjects studied in those times along with their Education brother pupils. For instance, according to Bhavabhuti, the author of *Uttara Rama Charita*, Atreyi studied the Vedanta with Rama's sons Lava and Kush, in Valmiki's Ashrama. *Atharva Veda* went so far as to say that a maiden was not entitled to marry until after she had completed her student life (Brahmacharya).¹ Some women advanced so far in their studies and attained so much learning as to be able to challenge men of acknowledged learning in public discussions on philosophical and metaphysical subjects. *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* gives an instance of Gargi who challenged Yajnavalkya in the court of Janaka, King of Videha (Modern

¹ *Atharva Veda*—I. 3. 18.

Bihar), with these words : "Oh Yajnyavalkya, as the son of a warrior from Kashi or Videha would string his loosened bow, take two pointed foe-piercing arrows in his hand, and rise to do battle, so have I risen to fight thee with two questions. Answer me these questions," and at the end, made him admit defeat with the words, "O Gargi, do not ask me too much (मातिप्रक्षिप्त)". Another instance given in the same *Upanishad* is that of Maitreyi, who, when her husband, Yajnavalkya, at the time of his retirement in old age from worldly life, proposed to settle some property on her, turned to him and asked whether even the possession of this whole earth, full of wealth, would make her immortal, and added : "What should I do with that by which I cannot become immortal?" One may well ask whether the history of any other country in the world can give any such instance of a woman's insatiable love of knowledge.

Such learned women were generally known as Brahmavadini (women who had attained knowledge of Brahman, the Supreme Being). Other names by which they were known were Mantravid (knowing the Mantras *i.e.*, the *Vedas*) and Pandita (learned). For instance, Kausalya, mother of Rama, and Tara, wife of Bali, are described in the *Ramayana*¹ as Mantravid and Draupadi² in the *Mahabharata* as Pandita.

Gargi, Maitreyi, Atreyi, Kausalya, Tara and Draupadi are not the only instances of highly learned women of ancient times. Several others have been immortalised in Sanskrit literature.

In the Smriti period, in the times of Manu and Yajnavalkya, however, the state of things changed. Marriage of girls before the age of puberty put an almost insurmountable difficulty in the way of their education and confined them to their homes and let them receive such education as they could in spare time to receive at the hands of their parents, brothers, or other relatives in the house, or their husbands. Manu³ held that marriage of girls was as good as their initiation into the study of the *Vedas*, serving the husband was as good as their study at the Ashrama, and household duties were as good as the daily rites, such as sandhya-vandana and agnihotra.

¹ *Ramayana* II, 20, 25, 75 and Kishkandha 16—12

² *Mahabharata*, Shanti Parva, 321—83

³ *Manusmriti*, II, 57

In later times, however, women came to be held under much restraint. As the following verse shows, the father was to protect them in girlhood, the husband in youth, and the sons in old age, on the ground that they did not deserve freedom :

पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने ।
रक्षन्ति वार्धके पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वतन्त्र्यमहंति ॥

The view of present life as unreal (माया) and of education as a means of ultimately emancipating the soul from fetters of this unreal life, tended to generate in some people a sense of indifference to conditions of present life and Defects a tendency to look beyond it. They were thus, deprived of an impetus to improve the conditions of present life and were inclined to turn their attention to conditions of life that was to follow.

The caste system confined work in particular fields of human activity to particular classes of the population, as if all the members of a class had the same natural bent and were fit for the same occupation, and prevented all classes from co-operating freely for common purposes. It tended to confine knowledge to the Brahman caste and to create a gulf between it and the rest of the population. Further, with its increasing rigidity in course of time, the Brahmans tended to leave the mass of the people undisturbed in their ignorance and contented with the lot that was cast for them ; and, satisfied with the position of superiority thus secured by them, ceased to advance. Thus, the knowledge they had attained became limited in itself and was arrested in its progress—knowledge which a freer social system would certainly have helped to develop and advance. As one writer has observed, ‘the secluded treasure rusted and grew stagnant, like every human gift when denied its circulation among men.’¹

Belief in the transmigration of the soul made transactions of this life appear, as the writer quoted above has observed, like an odd volume in the biography of the soul. Having passed through many existences before reaching the human form and being destined to many others after this mortal coil was shuffled off, the events of one brief phase of its being seemed undeserving

¹ Rev. George Trevor, *India : Its Natives and Missions*, p. 245.

of serious attention or record ; and the more so, since men only suffered here the predetermined consequences of former deeds and were incapable of changing their destiny by any reflections drawn from the virtues or errors of those who preceded them.

Lastly, acceptance of the *Vedas* as the final authority in deciding all questions relating to social life tended to make change from the ancient Vedic system difficult, often impossible and made the Brahmins insist on Vedic sanction for every change or reform demanded by the changing needs of times. This retarded progress —in fact, made progress impossible.

Universities in ancient India were not well organised bodies like the Universities of modern times. They were, like the *studia generalia* of mediaeval Europe, settlements of teachers where

Universities students congregated, lived, and learnt what they desired to learn at the hands of teachers who taught what they knew. They did not lay down definite regulations for entrance or for examination, did not prescribe different courses of study in different branches of knowledge, did not prepare students for any particular examination, did not hold any public examination, and did not grant degrees or diplomas. Among such places of higher education in ancient India, Takshashila, Benares, Nalanda, Vikramashila, Valabhi, Navadveepa (Nadia in Bengal), and Kanchi or Conjeevaram (in Madras) were the best known. Of these, those at Benares, Navadveepa, and Kanchi, grew up in connection with temples which were centres of community life in the places where they were situated. Buddhist seats of higher education, such as those at Nalanda, Vikramashila, and Valabhi, on the other hand, grew up in connection with Viharas and Sangharamas, which were originally the forest or garden retreats where Buddha stayed with his disciples during his travels through the country and where Buddhist monks rested during the rainy season when travelling was difficult.

TAKSHASHILA bears the name of the capital of that name (derived from Taksha, the local ruler) of the province of Gandhar (modern Kandahar) near the present city of Peshawar. It was a seat of Hindu and Buddhist culture, where hundreds of teachers and students gathered from different parts of India and the outlying countries of Asia long before the beginning of the Christian era. As early as in the 7th century B. C. it attracted students

from such far off places as Benares, and was famous for its schools of philosophy even at the time of Alexander's invasion in the 4th century B. C. Buddhist *Jataka* No. 252 relates that Brahmadutta, a king of Benares, sent his sixteen-year-old son to far-off Takshashila, to complete his education, giving him a pair of one-soled sandals, an umbrella of leaves, and a thousand pieces of gold ; that when, on arriving at Takshashila, the boy went to the teacher's house, he was readily welcomed by the teacher and lodged and boarded in his house ; and that, when he saw the teacher next morning, he had the following conversation with him :

"Where have you come from ?" asked the teacher.

"From Benares," replied the boy.

"Whose son are you ?"

"I am the son of the King of Benares."

"What brings you here ?"

"I have come to learn."

"Well, have you brought the teacher's fee, or do you wish to serve me in return for learning from me ?" questioned the teacher.

"I have brought the fee with me," said the boy, and laid his purse of a thousand pieces at the teacher's feet.

The above story is interesting, as showing sixteen years as the age for proceeding to the university, completion of education as the aim of such education, the modest manner in which students were equipped for it, the fee, varying with their means, which those who could afford it paid for their education, and the domestic service which others who could not afford it, rendered in return for their education, the long and difficult journey undertaken by those seeking it, the humility with which they approached their teachers, and the parental manner in which the teachers received and treated them.

The teachers of Takshashila are described as world-renowned. They taught the three *Vedas*, the sciences such as medicine and surgery, and the arts like archery and agriculture, to hundreds of students who gathered there for education. *Jataka* No. 537 says that its archery school alone had, on its roll, 163 princes belonging to different parts of the country.

Takshashila continued to flourish as a great seat of learning till it was destroyed by white Huns who invaded this country in A.D. 455.

BENARES as a seat of learning, came into existence later than Takshashila, after the Aryans had advanced eastwards from the Indus basin to the Ganges basin and had settled there. Its fame, as a stronghold of religion and learning was so great in ancient times that every religious leader who desired to propagate his doctrine felt compelled to preach it first to its renowned pundits and shastris. Gautama Buddha had to go there to preach his first sermon on his new religion (Buddhism as it has since been known after him) in 528 b. c. at Saranath, about 4 miles away from it ; and Shankaracharya had to do likewise to propound his Advaita (Monistic) philosophy of the Vedanta in later times. Chaitanya and Guru Nanak, the great Vaishnava and Sikh leaders visited it ; and Tulsidas and Kabir, the well-known saints, imparted their religious teachings there. It is noteworthy that in spite of all the political upheavals and changes in Government, from Hindu to Mussalman, from Mussalman to Mogul, and from Mogul to British, during the last more than two thousand years, Benares has maintained its fame as the greatest stronghold of Hindu religion and culture. Its continuance as such is, no doubt, largely due to its recognition as the holiest place of pilgrimage by all sects and castes of Hindus ; and its importance as a great seat of learning has been enhanced by the foundation of the Benares Hindu University which imparts not only ancient but also modern learning.

While Benares remained the seat of Hindu learning, Saranath developed after Buddha's time into a great seat of Buddhist religion and learning. It was liberally patronised by Emperor Asoka and appears to have been in a flourishing condition in the 7th century A.D.

Alberuni, the great Arab historian, mentioned Benares as one of the most noteworthy seats of learning in the 11th century A.D., and Bernier who visited this country in the 17th century A.D. described Benares as follows : "The town of Benares... is the general school and, as it were, the Athens of the gentry of the Indies, where the Brahmins and the Religious (those that addict themselves to study) come together. They have no colleges nor classes ordered as with us ; methink, it is more after the way of the ancients ; the masters being dispersed over the town in their houses and especially in the gardens of the suburbs. Of these masters, some have four disciples, others

six or seven ; and the most famous twelve or fifteen at most, who spend ten or a dozen years with them.... They study leisurely and without much tormenting themselves, eating their kichery or mixture of legumes, which the rich merchants cause to be dressed for them.”¹

NALANDA (न + अलम् + द) interpreted as meaning “not giving enough” or “insatiable in giving”, was the most famous seat of Buddhistic learning. It developed from a Vihara, founded by Aryadeva, a pupil of Nagarjuna, in the 4th century A.D. into a great place of Buddhistic learning under the patronage of the Gupta kings who endowed it liberally, although they themselves were orthodox Hindus—a fact which shows the spirit of religious tolerance animating rulers in this country at a time when it was unknown in other countries of the world. It was situated on a beautiful site about 7 miles from Rajagriha, the old capital of the kingdom of Magadha, and 40 miles from Patna (ancient Pataliputra) in Bihar.

Students flocked to Nalanda for advanced studies not only from distant parts of this country but also from foreign countries, such as, Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, Burma, Sumatra, Java, and even Turkistan. Among the foreigners who visited Nalanda were the famous Chinese travellers, Fa Hien, Hiuen-Tsiang, and I-Tsing, who spent long years—from 399 to 414 A.D., from 629 to 645 A.D., and from 673 to 693 A.D., respectively in this country. Hiuen-Tsiang resided for study at Nalanda for 5 years from 635 A.D. and I-Tsing for 10 years from 673 A.D. According to the accounts left by them, Nalanda had, while they were there, as many as 1510 teachers and 8500 students. Yuan Chwang, who was also one of the Chinese students of Nalanda, writes : “In the establishment were some thousands of brethren, all men of great ability and learning, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous ; the brethren were very strict in observing the precepts and regulations of their order ; they were looked up to as models by all India ; learning and discussing they found the day too short ; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection.... Hence, foreign students came to the establish-

¹ Bernier, *Voyage to the East Indies* (reprinted and published by the Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature, Calcutta, 1909), pp. 109-10.

ment to put an end to their doubts and then become celebrated, and those who stole the name (of Nalanda Brother) were all treated with respect, wherever they went.”¹

Admission was restricted to those candidates who passed preliminary tests set at the entrance gate by the Dwara-Pandita (College Warden). The tests were so severe that only 2 or 3 out of 10 could pass them.

The subjects of study included not only Buddhistic, Jain, and Brahmanic religions, but also such secular subjects as grammar, logic, linguistics, medicine, and the Yoga and Sankhya systems of philosophy.

Its teachers included such learned men as Dharmapala, Chandrapala, Shilabhadra, Gunamati, Sthiramati, Prabhmitra, Jinamitra and Jinachandra, who all lived in the first half of the 7th century A.D.

Nalanda had 8 big halls and 300 smaller apartments, where about 100 lectures were given every day on various subjects and free discussions and debates were held on them.

Nalanda had a splendid library, called Dharmaganja, accommodated in three huge buildings, one of which was nine stories high. Many manuscripts of that library are still believed to be in the libraries of Nepal and Tibet which maintained close and constant cultural connection with Nalanda.

Bana, describing King Harsha's visit to a forest university of his time (7th Century A.D.) in *Harsh Charita* says, that he saw there a large number of Buddhists from different parts of the country, perched on pillows, seated on rocks, dwelling in bowers of creepers, living in thickets or in the shadows of branches, or squatting on the roots of trees, devotees dead to all passions, Jains in white robes, mendicants, followers of Krishna, religious students, ascetics, followers of Kanada, followers of the Upanishads, students of legal institutions, students of Puranas, adepts in sacrifices, adepts in grammar, followers of Pancharatra, and others besides, all following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts, resolving them, giving etymologies, and disputing, discussing, and explaining most points, and all this in perfect peace and harmony.

Nalanda depended for its maintenance on the revenues of

¹ Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. 11, p. 1650.

100 villages donated by the Gupta kings for this purpose, and supplied free lodging, boarding, and clothing to its students.

This great Buddhist seat of learning was completely destroyed and its library burnt by Bakhtyar Khilji about the year 1200, in the time of Muhammad Ghori.

It is noteworthy, that even today India cannot claim to possess a university so great and renowned as Nalanda.

VALABHI (modern Vala in Kathiawad) was also a great seat of Brahmanic as well as Buddhistic learning. It flourished about the same time as Nalanda—in the 17th century. The great Buddhist teachers, Sthiramati and Gunamati, of Nalanda, were for some time in charge of Buddhistic teaching at Valabhi. It attracted a large number of students from far and near. *Kathasaritsagara*, the well-known Sanskrit work, makes mention of a Brahman of the Gangetic plain sending his son to Valabhi for education. This shows the wide-spread reputation which Valabhi enjoyed as a seat of learning.

VIKRAMASHILA was situated about 24 miles from Bhagalpur in Bihar. It was founded by King Dharmapala of Gauda in the 8th century A.D. He endowed the monastery liberally and provided in it for the maintenance of 108 monks. He is said to have built 108 temples and several halls and a high wall surrounding them for their protection. The high wall had six gates, each leading to a college, to which admission was granted by Dwara-Panditas guarding the gates, to candidates who passed the preliminary tests set by them. It was managed by a board of 6 monks, presided over by the chief abbot appointed by the Pala kings, and its educational administration was vested in a committee of Dwara-Panditas presided over by the chief abbot. It imparted instruction in Brahmanic as well as Buddhistic learning, and attracted students even from Tibet. In the 12th century, it had 3000 monks as resident students, and possessed a rich library. It flourished till the end of the 12th century, when it was destroyed, along with Nalanda, by Bakhtyar Khilji in the time of Muhammad Ghori. It is said that as it was situated on a hill and had a high wall round, it was mistaken for a fort. All the resident students and teachers, except a few who could manage to escape, were slain, and all the library books, except those that could be carried off by the few that escaped, were burnt.

NAVADVEEPA or New Island (modern Nadia), a town about

70 miles north of Calcutta, on the banks of the Bhagirathi, was founded in 1063 A.D. by the Sena kings of Bengal and soon became a great centre of Hindu learning. It imparted instruction in the Vedas, Vedangas, and the six Darshanas or systems of philosophy, particularly Nyaya. It is said that Vasudev Sarvabhauma, one of its distinguished products, while still a student, went to Mithila (in Bihar) to study Nyaya, learnt up the whole subject by heart, returned to Navadvipa, and founded a college for instruction in that subject which was, till then, not taught there.

In 1821, Mr. H. H. Wilson found about 25 *tols* or places of learning at Nadia. The *tols* consisted of thatched rooms for the pundits and their classes, and two or three ranges of mud-huts in which the students resided. The rooms and the huts were built and kept in repair by the pundits, their means for so doing being derived from former grants by the Raja of Nadia, and presents made to them at religious festivals by the zemindars living in the neighbourhood. The number of students in a *tol* was about twenty or twenty-five but in some places, where the pundit was of high repute, it was from fifty to sixty. The whole number was said to be between 500 and 600. The greater portion consisted of natives of Bengal, but there were many from remote parts of India, especially from the south. There were some from Nepal and Assam, and many from the eastern districts, especially Tirhoot. Few, if any, had any means of subsistence of their own. Their dwelling they obtained from the teacher; and their clothes and food in presents from him and the shopkeepers and land-holders in the town or neighbourhood. At the principal festivals they dispersed for a few days in quest of alms, and collected enough to sustain them till the next interval of leisure.

What caused perpetuation of these indigenous places of learning, was the belief that it was an act of religious merit to acquire knowledge of the Shastras or to extend their knowledge by direct instruction or by pecuniary support or assistance either to scholars or teachers. Hence, the privations to which the students submitted in the prosecution of the prescribed courses of study, the disinterestedness of the teachers in giving them instruction gratuitously, with the addition, always of shelter, often of food, and sometimes of clothing ; and the liberality of land-holders and others shown by occasional endowments of land and

frequent gifts of money both to teachers and scholars on the occasion of funeral feasts, wedding, etc.¹

Prof. Cowell who visited this seat of learning in 1867 wrote : "I could not help looking at these unpretending lecture-halls with a deep interest, as I thought of the pundits lecturing there to generation after generation of eager, inquisitive minds. Seated on the floor, with his 'corona' of listening pupil round him, the teacher expiates on those refinements of infinitesimal logic which makes a European's brain dizzy to think of, but whose labyrinth a trained Nadia student will thread with unfaltering precision."²

The most notable product of Navadveepa was Chaitanya, the founder of the Vaishanava sect of that name in Bengal in the 16th century.

KĀNCI or Conjeevaram as it is called to-day, was a great place of ancient Hindu learning, Buddhistic as well as Brahmanic. It is still known as the Dakshina Kashi by devout South Indian Hindus. It was the capital of the Pallava Kings of South India, and the birth-place of Chanakya, the reputed Indian Machiavelli—Kautilya, author of *Arthashastra*.

Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller, visited Kanchi about the year 642 A. D. during the reign of Narasimhavarman and appears to have stayed there for a considerable time. He praised the people of Kanchi for their regard and veneration for learning. He found there Vaishanavite and Shaivite Hindus, Digambar Jains, and Mahayana Buddhists, the last of whom had about 100 sangharamas and about 10,000 priests. It is still a town of temples, the best known of which is that of Kailasanatha.

MADURA was another great seat of learning in South India. Its sangham or assembly of teachers was reputed to be a highly learned body. It exercised great influence on the South Indian world of letters.

There were, besides, several other places which contributed their share in the conservation and promotion of ancient Hindu learning. For instance, Ennayiram in south Arcot district had a college endowed with about 300 acres of land and providing free lodging, boarding, and tuition to 340 students, of whom

¹ Adams, *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar* (Rev. Long's edition), p. 51

² Keay, *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times*, p. 145.

75 were students of *Rigveda*, 95 of *Yajurveda*, 40 of *Samaveda*, 10 of *Atharvaveda*, and the remaining of grammar, philosophy, etc. It had a staff of 15 teachers—3 for *Rigveda*, 4 for *Yajurveda*, and 1 each for the other subjects.

VENKATESH PERUMAL temple at Tirumukkudal in Chinglepet district had a college, a hostel, and a hospital attached to it. The college was smaller than that at Ennayiram, and provided lodging and boarding accommodation for 60 students, of whom 10 studied *Rigveda*, 10 *Yajurveda*, 20 grammar, and 20 other subject.

MALKAPURAM in Guntur District, had also a college, a hostel and a hospital, all combined. The college had about 150 students and 8 teachers, and it specialised in the teaching of the Vedas, grammar, literature, logic, and the Agamas.

There was a grammar college at PUNNAVAYIL in Tanjore district, offering free board and lodging, and tuition to about 500 students.

A college attached to PRANESHVARA temple at Talgunda in Shikarpur district imparted instruction in the Vedas, the Vedanta, the Mimansa, and the Kanarese language.

There were similar temple colleges at Hebbal in Dharwar district, at Jatiga-Rameshwara in Chitaldurg district, and at Bijapur and Davangere in Karnatak. For instance, the village of Salotgi in Bijapur district had a famous college in the 9th and 10th centuries in connection with the temple of Trayipurusha. A spacious building was provided for it by a minister of Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. It attached students from different provinces and maintained 27 houses for their lodging and boarding accommodation. It was granted 60 acres of land to enable it to meet the lighting expenses of the boarders. In fact, almost every temple of repute used to utilise a part of its income in providing facilities for higher studies in the different branches of ancient learning.

In olden times, kings used to give away whole villages to learned Brahmans so that they might be able to maintain themselves and the pupils under their instruction. Such villages were called Agrahara villages. Sarvajnapur (modern Arsikere in Mysore State) was such an Agrahara village. An inscription discovered at the place says :

“In some of its streets, the Brahmans were reading the *Vedas*, the *Shastras*, and the six *Darshanas* (systems of philosophy);

each group of Brahmans was either reading the *Vedas*, listening to the exposition of higher sciences, carrying on ceaseless discussion on logic, joyously reciting the *Puranas*, or settling the meaning of smritis, drama, or poetry.”¹

It is worthy of note here what Dr. Graves, a well-known American historian of education, says of ancient Indian education. “Education in India,” he says, “is based upon a gloomy religious belief and the rigid caste system accompanying it. The Hindu boy is impressed with the unreality and wretchedness of his life, and is enjoined to escape from it as soon as possible, through reflection and inactivity.

Foreign
Criticisms “All science and inventions are naturally beside the mark, when emphasis is laid chiefly on the life to come and it is known that no amount of advance in methods, implements, and mental development can make the slightest change in one’s position during the present life. The Hindus still plow with sticks of wood, as their remotest ancestors did, and their wonderful soil fails to produce a tithe of what it might. Their crops are harvested and threshed by devices equally antique. They bake their bricks, work their metals, and weave their cloth with appliances that might have seemed crude to the early Egyptians. In fact, they still live in the first, rather than in the 20th, century.

“Similarly, the Hindus have, until recently, been greatly lacking in ambition, self-reliance, and personal responsibility, and have never come to any feeling of solidarity or national unity. They have cultivated the passive virtues—patience, resignation, gentleness, peaceableness, and docility, and they are polite, respectful toward their parents and elders, and obedient to authority ; they have accomplished little for themselves or civilisation, and have been conquered by one nation after another. The Macedonian Greeks, Mohammedans, the Turko-mans and Moguls, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British, have successively been masters of their land. To them progress, prosperity, and patriotism are foreign ideas. Despite all the Hindu’s fineness of intellect and his idealistic religion, India seems typically barbarian.”²

¹ *The Hindu*, November 3, 1940.

² Grave F. P., *A History of Education*, pp. 88-89.

Put against this view of the materialistic West the following view of the spiritualistic East :

"India's cultural contribution to China can hardly be measured in words. It is known to everybody that China imported the great religion of the Buddha from India. But India's contribution to China is not to be limited to Buddhism only. In the wake of Buddhism, India has given China her science, philosophy, art, literature, music, dance, architecture, and everything that went to enrich her culture and civilisation. It will be quite safe to say, that since the introduction of Buddhism, nothing in China, from thought, learning, literature, arts, language, customs, habits, down to the trifles of every day life, has remained uninfluenced by Indian culture. Chinese culture, as it is today, may be described as bearing an indelible impress of her impact with Buddhism ; Chinese life may, to a very large extent, be said to be Indianised."¹

Dr. Grave's criticism is not surprising. It is not quite easy for the West to understand and appreciate the East, just as it is not easy for the East to understand and appreciate the West. If, to a westerner, India seems typically barbarian, to an easterner the West, in spite of its great material progress and refinement, seems typically materialistic and godless.

If education in India is based on a rigid caste-system, is not education in the Far West based on a more rigid caste-system which divides citizens of the U.S.A. into two sections, white and coloured, and inflicts serious legal and social disabilities in some of the States, at any rate on citizens who are not fortunate enough to be born white in colour ?

If the Hindu boy is impressed with the unreality and wretchedness of this life, is not the Christian boy similarly impressed? Does not the *Bible* teach him : "Love not the world neither the things *that are* in the world. If any man loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all *that is* in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the *world* passeth away, and the lust thereof"? (John, ii, 15, 16, 17).

Science and invention cannot be said to be beside the mark

¹ Tan Yun-Shan, Director, Cheena Bhavan, Santiniketan (*The Bombay Chronical*, Sept. 7, 1941).

in a country which can claim to have produced such distinguished men of science as Dr. J. C. Bose, Sir Chandrashekhar Raman, and Dr. Bhabha in present times ; eminent mathematicians like Brahmadatta who invented the quadratic equation, and Bhaskaracharya who advanced beyond the Greeks in his theory of square-roots and discovered zero in mediaeval times ; and renowned physicians and surgeons like Sushruta and Charaka who used twenty varieties of forceps alone in ancient times. The Lion Forceps which is used by present-day surgeons is described as simha-mukha (lion-mouthed) forceps by Sushruta who lived about 400 A. D.

If Hindus still plough with wooden sticks, if they harvest and thresh their crops by devices equally antique, if they bake their bricks, work their metals, and weave their cloth with crude appliances, reasons for this state of things are to be sought not in their religion or caste-system, but elsewhere.

The heroic achievements of Indian soldiers in the two great world wars and recently in Pakistan, have abundantly demonstrated to the world their ambition to be in the front ranks of the army, their self-reliance in difficult situations, and their readiness to take personal responsibility.

The accomplishments of the Hindus for themselves and for civilisation have been amply acknowledged by great savants in the past. For instance, as regards Mathematics, Cajori wrote : "Both the form and the spirit of the arithmetic and algebra of modern times are essentially Indian, not Grecian. Think of the most perfect of mathematical symbolisms—the Hindu Notation, think of the Indian arithmetical operations nearly as perfect as our own, think of their elegant algebraical methods, and then judge whether the Brahmans on the banks of the Ganges are not entitled to some credit. Unfortunately, some of the most brilliant of Hindu discoveries in indeterminate analysis, reached Europe too late to exert the influence they should have exerted, had they come two or three centuries earlier."

As regards grammar, President Wheeler of the University of California noted : "Only two peoples have developed complete grammatical systems, the Hindus and the Greeks. The Hindu system, characterised by greater objectivity, gave the impulse, when opened to Western scholars, to the development of modern scientific grammar."

Temporal conquest of India by foreign peoples in succession, cannot affect the spiritual eminence which India has enjoyed ; for ultimately, in the final dispensation of Providence, it is the spirit that will prevail, not body or mind.

Contrast with Dr. Grave's criticism, what another great American writer who knew the East wrote of Asia of which India is an important part :

"Asia is the mother-continent of the world. She is the mother of the world's most important races, including the races of Europe ; she is the greatest mother of nations ; she is the most important mother of languages : she is the mother of the alphabet and of letters ; she is the mother of astronomy and navigation and mathematics and most of the arts and industries of the world : she is the mother of civilisation, giving to the world its first great centres of enlightenment many centuries before any part of Europe had emerged from barbarism ; and when civilisation began to penetrate Europe, it was from Asia that it came. What is important also, Asia is the mother of religions. All the world's great historic religious faiths are of Asiatic origin, not one arose on any other continent. Europe herself secured both her Christianity and her *Bible* from Asia. Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Jesus were all Asiatics. Where, then, is there any ground for Europe's pride and arrogance when comparing herself with Asia ?"¹

"I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this : to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science : to impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her lofty political ideal ; to inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business way of its merchant."—The late Maharaja Sayaji Rao of Baroda.

¹ Sunderland, *Rising Japan*.

P A R T II

MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD

"Take not (for worship) two gods :
For He is just one God."—*Sura XVI*, 51.¹

"The Brotherhood of Truth is one in all ages ; it is narrow men who create sects."—*Sura XXIII*. 51-92.²

"To be true in word and deed is to follow God's call. But our striving should include study and teaching for the Brethren's benefit."—*Sura IX*, 119-129.³

"God's gifts are for all, but not all receive the same gifts, nor are all gifts of equal dignity or excellence.—*Sura XVII*, 20-21.⁴

"Our service to God is shown in our human relations, goodness to parents and kinsmen and strangers in want, as well as kindness to children, purity in sex relations, justice and respect for human life, protection of orphans probity in all dealings, and avoidance of arrogance,"—*Sura XVII*, 23-40.⁵

LIKE Hindus, Muslims respected learning and revered learned men, and regarded it as an act of religious merit to encourage and impart learning and support learned men.

With Muslims during the Mohammedan period of Indian history, as with Hindus in its earlier Hindu period, education was a purely private affair. It was provided by Maktabs and private agency—by managers of mosques who, Madrasahs with the help of well-to-do Mohammedans of the locality and sometimes also with land or money grants from the rulers, opened schools called *maktabs* and *madrasahs*.

¹ Ali Yusuf (English translation), *The Holy Quran*, p. 669.

² *Ibid*, p. 883.

³ *Ibid*, p. 477.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 692.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 692.

*sahs*¹ in connection with mosques for religious instruction to children of Muslim inhabitants of the locality. It was imparted by learned Moulvis with the help of monitors or older and more advanced pupils. It consisted, in maktabas, in the teaching of reading and recitation of such portions of the *Quran* as Mohammedans needed to know by heart for their daily prayers and devotions, and, in madrasahs which were institutions of a higher grade, in the teaching of Arabic and Persian, according to local demand, in addition to *Quran* reading and recitation.

Mohammedans, like Hindus, commenced their children's education with a formal ceremony called Bismillah. Over a hundred years ago (1836), Adam described this ceremony and the general course of instruction in elementary Persian schools in Bengal as follows :

"When a child is four years four months and four days' old, the friends of the family assemble and the child is dressed in his best clothes, brought into the company, and seated on a cushion in the presence of all. The alphabet, the form of letters used for computation, the introduction to the *Quran*, some verses of chapter LV, and the whole of chapter LXXXVII are placed before him, and he is taught to pronounce them in succession. If the child is self-willed, and refuses to read, he is made to pronounce the Bismillah, which answers every purpose, and from that day his education is deemed to have commenced. At school he is taught the alphabet, by the eye and ear, the forms of the letters being presented to him in writing, and their names pronounced in his hearing, which he is required to repeat until he is able to connect the names and the forms with each other in his mind. The scholar is afterwards made to read the XXX section of the *Quran*, the chapters of which are short, and are generally used at the times of prayer and in the burial service. The words are marked with diacritical points in order that the knowledge of letters, their junction and correct orthography, and their pronunciation from the appropriate organs may be thoroughly acquired : but the sense is entirey unknown. The

¹ The origin of the words *madrasah* and *maktab* throw interesting light on the purposes which they served. *Madrasah* is derived from Arabic *dars*, *a lecture-a lesson*, and means a place where a lecture is given or a lesson is taught. *Maktab* is derived from Arabic *Kutub*: *he wrote*, and means a place where writing is taught.

next book put into his hands is the *Pandnameh* of Sadi, a collection of moral sayings, many of which are above his comprehension, but he is not taught or required to understand any of them. The work is solely used for the purpose of instructing him in the art of reading and of forming a correct pronunciation, without any regard to the sense of the words pronounced. It is generally after this that the scholar is taught to write the letters, to join vowels and consonants, and to form syllables. The next book is the *Amadnameh*, exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs which are read to the master and, by frequent repetition, committed to memory. The first book which is read for the purpose of being understood is the *Gulistan* of Sadi, containing lessons on life and manners, and this is followed or accompanied by the *Boston* of the same author. Two or three sections of each are read and simultaneously short Persian sentences relating to going and coming, sitting and standing, and the common affairs of life, are read and explained. The pupil is afterwards made to write Persian names, then Arabic names, and next Hindi names, especially such as, contain letters to the writing or pronunciation of which difficulty is supposed to attach. Elegant penmanship is considered a great accomplishment, and those who devote themselves to this art employ from three to four hours every day in the exercise of it, writing first single letter, then double, or treble, then couplets, quatrains, etc. They first write upon a board with a thick pen, then with a finer pen on pieces of paper pasted together ; and last of all, when they have acquired considerable command of the pen, they begin to write upon paper in single fold. This is accompanied or followed by the perusal of some of the most popular poetical productions, such as *Joseph* and *Zuleikha*, founded on a well known incident in Hebrew history ; the loves of *Leila and Majnun* ; the *Secundarnameh*, an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great, etc., etc. The mode of computing by the Ahjad, or letters of the alphabet, is also taught, and is of two sorts ; in the first, the letters of the alphabet in the order of the Ahjad being taken to denote units, tens, and hundreds to a thousand ; and in the second, the letters composing the names of the letters of the alphabet being employed for the same purposes. Arithmetic, by means of the Arabic numerals, and instruction at great length in the different styles of address and in the forms of

correspondence, petitions, etc., etc., complete a course of Persian instruction.”¹

Adam described elementary Arabic schools as schools for instruction in the formal or ceremonial reading of certain passages of the *Quran* and their teachers as possessing the lowest degree of attainment to which it was possible to assign the task of instruction. “They do not pretend” he observed, “to be able even to sign their names ; and they disclaim altogether the ability to understand that which they read and teach. The mere forms, names, and sounds of certain letters and combinations of letters they know and teach, and what they teach is all that they know of written language, without presuming, or pretending, or aiming to elicit the feeblest glimmering of meaning from these empty vocables.”²

Advanced Arabic schools, however, stood on a far higher plane. Their course of instruction took a much wider range. The grammatical works studied were numerous, systematised, and profound ; complete courses of reading on rhetoric, logic, and law were included, the external observances and fundamental doctrines of Islam were minutely studied ; the works of Euclid on geometry and of Ptolemy on astronomy in translation were not unknown, other branches of natural philosophy were also taught, and the whole course was crowned by the perusal of treatises on metaphysics, which was deemed the highest attainment of the instructed scholar. Several towns, such as Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Ajmer, Allahabad, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Calcutta, Bijapur, and Bidar, had during the period of Mohammedan rule, such advanced schools of Islamic learning, to which students flocked for instruction from different parts of the country.

Maktab or Quran-teaching schools were, and even now are, usually attached to mosques and are to be found where Mohammedans form a not inconsiderable proportion of the population. Peshi Imam, the prayer leader, is almost always the school teacher as well. The scholars commence by studying the Arabic alphabet, and as soon as they can read, they are made to

¹ Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar* (Rev. Long's Edition), pp. 102-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

recite *Suras* or chapters of the *Quran*. Neither writing nor arithmetic is taught. Instruction is usually confined to reading and memorising, but sometimes an attempt is also made to explain the meaning of what is read. It is not considered necessary that the children should understand the meaning of the words they commit to memory, which are often unintelligible even to the teacher. The course of studies in the madrasah generally included grammar, logic, rhetoric, literature, theology, metaphysics, jurisprudence, and medicine. The course of studies in the Calcutta Madrasah founded by Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, in 1781, included grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, law, theology, and natural philosophy.

The method of instruction in maktabs and madrasahs was the mechanical method of oral recitation and repetition, which still continues in maktabs and madrasahs attached to mosques.

Muhammad Ghori with whom began the Mussulman conquest of India, is reported to have established mosques and colleges at Ajmer for the teaching of precepts of Islam and principles of Mohammedan Law.

His successor, Kutbuddin, the first king of the Slave Dynasty, also built several mosques and maktabs.

Kutbuddin's successors, Altamash, Raziyah Begum, Nasiruddin, and Balban, all encouraged opening of maktabs and madrasahs in connection with mosques and gave grants for their maintenance.

Allauddin Khilji who followed them, confiscated all the educational endowments (wakf) and undid the work of his predecessors. Mubarak who succeeded him restored them, however.

The rulers of the Tughlaq dynasty, particularly, Firuz Shah, were all well disposed towards education and supported it liberally.

The madrasah established by Firuz Shah in Delhi is thus described : "The madrasah was a very commodious building, embellished with lofty domes, and situated in an extensive garden adorned with alleys and avenues and all that human art combined with nature could contribute to make the place fit for meditation.

An adjacent tank mirrored in its shiny and placid breast the high and massive house of study standing on its brink. What a charming sight was it when the madrasah hummed with hundreds of busy students, walking its clean and smooth floors, diverting themselves on the side of the tank, or listening in attentive masses to the learned lectures of the professors from their respective seats !

"Of the learned men to whom the responsible task of educating the young alumni of the college was entrusted, we hear only of two. There was Maulana Jalauddin Rumi, the renowned master of many subjects, who used to lecture on theology, explain to the students the Fiqh (jurisprudence) and the commentaries on the *Quran*, and teach them the time-honoured traditions. The other professor was a great religious teacher, and had hailed from Samarqand.

"Both the students and the professors had to reside within the college, and so there were the facilities that a constant communion among the students themselves as well as between the tutors and the taught could afford. The college was not, as can already be anticipated, a place for exclusively secular studies only, but in it was also carefully looked after spiritual well-being of the students. There was a big masjid attached thereto, in which the five compulsory as well as extra prayers were regularly said, the former being performed in gatherings conducted by the Sufis, who at other times remained engaged in counting beads and praying for the well-being of the Sultan. The Hafizes (those who learnt by heart the *Quran*) had to recite the whole *Quran* and pray for the Emperor and all the Mussulmans.

"There were separate apartments in the college for the reception and accommodation of the travellers who, attracted by its reputation, paid their visits from distant countries.

"The College was also noted for bounty and charity to the poor and the needy, for in its masjid they received the help they wanted.

"There was a suitable provision for the bestowal of stipends and scholarships upon the successful students, and over and above these, every inmate of the madrasah, be he a student, professor or a traveller lodging there, received a fixed daily allowance for his maintenance. All these expenses were defrayed out of the State endowments as well as, in this particular case, out of the

sums of money that were set apart by the State for being given in charity to contribute to the well-being of the Emperor.”¹

Timur’s invasion in 1398, however, gave a great set-back to Muslim education in the country.

In the time of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1519), Hindus began to learn Persian, as they came to realise that Mohammedan rule had come to stay and that it was incumbent on them to learn the language of the rulers in order to be eligible for official appointments under them. The Mohammedan rulers too began to feel the need of assistance of Hindu officers in the administration of the country they had to rule over, and Mohammedan officers the need of studying the language of the people they had been brought into contact with as subjects of the same ruling power. Thus was brought about Hindi, the language of the Hindu population, with Persian, the language of the ruling classes, which, in course of time, resulted in the birth of the Urdu language. The word ‘Urdu’ is Turkish in origin and literally means a ‘camp.’ It was applied by the Mogul Emperors to their Imperial Camp at Delhi, and the language there spoken came to be known as Urdu-ki-Zaban or Language of the Imperial Camp.

In Mogul times, education received great impetus, particularly in the time of Akbar. He invited and entertained learned men of all communities and creeds at his court and held public discussions with them. He also got the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Aiharva Veda*, the *Leelavati* and several other Sanskrit works translated into Persian. Todarmal, his Revenue Minister, ordered all official accounts to be kept in Persian and thus made Hindus learn Persian in their own interests.

Akbar’s interest in education is shown by the following passage in Abul Fazl’s *Ain-i-Akbari*:

“In every country, but especially in Hindustan, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every schoolboy should first learn to write the letters of the alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms.

¹N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule*, pp. 60-63.

"He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself, but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to practise daily in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought specially to look after five things, knowledge of letters ; meanings of words ; the hemistich ; the verse ; and the former lessons. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand so much, so that people will get quite astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the *tabi'i* (physical), *riyazi* (mathematical) and *ilahi* (divine) sciences, and history ; all of which may be gradually acquired. In studying Sanskrit, students ought to learn the Bayakaran, Nyaya, Vedanta, and Patanjali. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires. These regulations shed a new light on schools and cast a bright lustre over madrasahs."¹

The above passage in a sixteenth-century account of the reign of an Indian monarch is noteworthy, as indicating the attention which the subject of popular education received at the hands of rulers in this country when rulers of other countries of the world had not even dreamt of it. It is interesting, also, as indicating the closeness with which Akbar had observed and noted the difference in teaching between Hindu and Muslim schools and the importance he attached to explanation by the teacher of what he taught as well as to pupils' own effort to understand it, to daily practice in writing as a means of developing the current style in handwriting, and to the inclusion of subjects of practical value to pupils in after-life, such as arithmetic, geometry and mensuration, agriculture, and medicine in the school course.

¹ Keay's *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times*, pp. 122-23.

Jehangir made a law that when a wealthy man died without leaving an heir, his property should revert to the State and should be used for building and repairing schools, monasteries, and other religious buildings.

Shah Jehan founded a college at Delhi near the Jami' Masjid.

Aurangzeb destroyed schools attached to Hindu temples, and prohibited Hindu teaching and worship at Banaras and other places ; but he helped in opening schools in connection with Mohammedan mosques. He also ordered monetary help to Mohammedan students in backward provinces like Gujarat and Oudh, and appointed special teachers for the instruction of Bohras of Gujarat and ordered reports of the results of their monthly examinations. Sialkot (in Punjab) was a great seat of Muslim learning in his time.

The manner in which Aurangzeb spoke to his old tutor when he went to see him after his accession to the throne shows how he looked upon him and what character of education he had received and, in his opinion, should have received from him. For three months, he refused to receive him, and when he did receive him, he addressed him as follows :

"Pray, what is your pleasure with me, Mullaji ? Do you pretend that I ought to exalt you to the first honours of the State ? Let us examine your title to any mark of distinction. I do not deny you would possess such a title, if you had filled my young mind with suitable instruction. Show me a well educated youth, and I will say that it is doubtful who has the stronger claim to his gratitude, his father or his tutor. But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition ? You taught us that the whole of Franguistan (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the king of Portugal, then the king of Holland, and afterwards the king of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Franguistan, such as the King of France and king of Andalusia, you told me that they resembled our petty rajas, and that the potentates of Hindustan eclipsed the glory of all other kings ; that they alone were Humayuns, Akbars, Jehangirs or Shah Jehans ; the Happy, the Great, the Conquerors of the World, and the Kings of the World ; and that Persia, Usbec, Kashgar, Tartary, Cathay, Pegu, Siam, and China, trembled at the names of the kings of the Indies. Admirable geographer ! Deeply-read

historian ! Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth ; its resources and strength ; its mode of warfare, its manners, religions, form of government, and wherein its interests principally consist ; and by a regular course of historical reading to render me familiar with the origin of states, their progress and decline ; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected ? Far from having imparted to me a profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind, scarcely did I learn from you the names of my ancestors, the renowned founders of this empire. You kept me in total ignorance of their lives, of the events which preceded, and the extraordinary talents that enabled them to achieve their extensive conquests. A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensable in a king ; but you would teach me to read and write Arabic, doubtless conceiving that you placed me under an everlasting obligation for sacrificing so large a portion of time to the study of a language wherein no one can hope to become proficient without ten or twelve years of close application. Forgetting how many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a prince, you acted as if it were chiefly necessary that he should possess great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of law ; and thus did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable and never-ending task of learning words. Were you not aware that it is during the period of infancy, when the memory is commonly so retentive, that the mind may receive a thousand wise precepts ; and be easily furnished with such valuable instructions as will elevate it with lofty conceptions, and render the individual capable of glorious deeds ? Can we repeat our prayers, or acquire a knowledge of law and of the sciences, only through the medium of Arabic ? May not our devotions be offered us as acceptably, and solid information communicated as easily, in our mother tongue ? You gave my father, Shah Jehan, to understand that you instructed me in philosophy ; and, indeed, I have a perfect remembrance of your having, during several years, harassed my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yields no satisfaction to the mind-propositions which seldom enter into the business of life ; wild and extravagant reveries conceived with

great labour and forgotten as soon as conceived ; whose only effect is to fatigue and ruin the intellect, and to render a man head-strong and insufferable. O yes, you caused me to devote the most valuable years of my life to your favourite hypotheses or systems, and when I left you, I could boast of no greater attainment in the sciences than the use of many obscure and uncouth terms, calculated to discourage, confound, and appeal a youth of the most masculine understanding ; terms invented to cover the vanity and ignorance of pretenders to philosophy ; of men who, like yourself, would impose the belief that they transcend others of their species in wisdom, and that their dark and ambiguous jargon conceals many profound mysteries known only to themselves. If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with anything short of the most solid arguments ; if you had inculcated lessons which elevate the soul, fortify it against assaults of fortune, tending to produce that enviable equanimity which is neither insolently elated by prosperity nor basely depressed by adversity ; if you had made me acquainted with the nature of men, accustomed me always to refer to first principles, and given me a sublime and adequate conception of the universe and of the order and regular motion of its parts ; if such, I say, had been the nature of the philosophy imbibed under your tuition, I should be more indebted to you than Alexander was to Aristotle, and should consider it my duty to bestow a very different reward on you than Aristotle received from that Prince. Answer me, sycophant, ought you not to have instructed me on one point at least, so essential to be known by a king ; namely, on the reciprocal duties between the sovereign and his subjects ? Ought you not also to have foreseen that I might, at some future period, be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand, for the crown, and for my very existence ? Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every king of Hindustan. Did you ever instruct me in the art of war, how to besiege a town, or draw up an army in battle array ? Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine on these subjects ! Go. Withdraw to thy village. Henceforth let no person know either who thou art, or what is become of thee.”¹

¹Keay Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times, pp. 131-134.

The address is remarkable, as expressing the views of a great Indian ruler of the seventeenth century about the utter uselessness of the education he had received from his old-fashioned tutor and the kind of useful education he should have received as a prince.

Though there were no institutions for the education of Mohommedan girls, such as there were for boys, girls did receive instruction in the recitation of the *Quran* in their homes. Girls belonging to royal and aristocratic families received sound education of a practical character, as is evidenced by the instances of Sultana Raziya ; Gul Begum, Babar's daughter ; Maham Anaga, Akbar's nurse ; Noor Jehan ; Mumtaz Mahal ; Jehanara Begum, the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan ; and Zebunnissa Begum, Aurangzeb's daughter.

On the break-up of the Mogul Empire that followed the death of Aurangzeb and the general disorder that ensued, education suffered grievously. Many of the schools and colleges attached to Mohammedan mosques as well as to Hindu temples closed down for want of peace in the country and of public support for their maintenance.

It must be noted that while mosques, maktabas, and madrasahs sprang up with the spread of Mohammedan power and provided facilities for Islamic learning in different parts of the country, the Hindu system of education continued to prevail in pathashalas, maths, and temples except where their work was disturbed or dislocated by Mohammedan inroads or invasions.

"The impact of the Muslims and the Hindus has evolved the present Indian culture. We cannot, even if we are foolish enough to try, untwist this closely inter-twisted and inter-twined unity of culture that makes Modern India."¹

¹ Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at the Muslim Students' Union meeting at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School, Bombay (*The Bombay Chronicle* dated July 12, 1941)

P A R T III

MODERN PERIOD

“At a time when our own ancestors were thinking of killing animals or one another, perhaps India had a philosophy which was very mature, also art, poetry, literature, and in fact everything which England had not.”

Sir James Jeans.

“Let India beware of importing a fully grown plan from abroad. It must devise its own scheme, compatible with the difficulties of race, religion, caste, social, educational, and occupational conditions, peculiar to it.”

Dr. Charess S. Myers.

“I have no hesitation in insisting that the foreign system of education at present prevailing in India has, to a large extent, corrupted India’s mentality.....its effect has been to imprison those associated with it in at present inescapable servitude of foreign-mindedness.”

Dr. John Sargent

“Lay down the broad and general principles of National Education, and, within them, let there be village, taluka, district, and urban co-operative autonomy to fit the general principles and local needs. There should be a straight road from the village school to the University for all who are able to tread it.”

Dr. G. S. Arundale.

ORIGINS of the present system of education in India are to be sought in the activities of early Christian missionaries. The earliest to enter the field of missionary work were the Roman Catholics, who, frightened by the spread of the Reformation in Europe, felt the need of making up for what they had been losing under its influence in Europe by exploring fresh fields in the then newly discovered countries of Asia and America and bringing the people of those far-off lands within their fold.

As soon as the Portuguese had gained a foot-hold in this country, Franciscan, Dominican, Jesuit, and other Roman Catholic missionaries began to arrive and organise institutions in different parts of the Portuguese-possessions for the evangelisation of what they called 'pagans' and 'heathens'¹ of this country. These institutions fell into 4 classes :

- (1) Parochial Portuguese and Latin schools for elementary education, attached to churches and missionary stations ;
- (2) Orphanages for Indian children, in which, besides rudimentary instruction, industrial and agricultural work was provided for the pupils ;
- (3) Jesuit Colleges for higher studies ;
- (4) Seminaries for theological instruction and for training of candidates for priesthood.²

Among the earliest missionaries to arrive, and the best known among them, was Francis Xavier (afterwards St. Francis Xavier), associate of St. Ignatius Loyola in the foundation of the Society of Jesus. He came out in Francis Xavier 1542. Soon after his arrival, he began to go about from village to village, walking through the streets with a bell in his hand and ringing it and calling people together for instruction in the Christian religion. Within a month, they would learn what he had recited to them, and they were then enjoined to teach it to their children and servants. He placed a copy of a Christian compendium prepared by him in every village, and appointed an overseer to instruct and baptise the people. These overseers were paid from the Portuguese Treasury. As regards education of the people, Xavier instructed Mansilla, his brother Jesuit, "to build schools in every village, that the children may be taught daily."³

In 1543, Xavier took over charge of the Seminary of Santa Fe (Holy Faith) which had been founded in 1541 by earlier

¹ Wild people living in villages (Latin *pagus*, a village) and on heaths or in jungles.

² Appendix to the Report of the Indian Education Commission, Bombay, Vol. 1, pp. 221-222.

³ Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, p. 51.

missionaries for the instruction of Indians newly converted to Christianity.

Xavier, however, was not satisfied with the results of his labours or of those of priests and the clergy. He therefore suggested in 1545 to the King of Portugal that the work of propagation of Christianity should be transferred from priests and the clergy to Government officials, and got orders issued to that effect. The order included, among other things, the following injunction : "All idols shall be sought out and destroyed, and severe penalties shall be laid upon all such as shall dare to make an idol....or shall shelter or hide a Brahmin."¹

In 1549, he wrote to Ignatius Loyola : "The natives are so terribly wicked they can never be expected to embrace Christianity. It is so repellent to them in every way that they have not even patience to listen when we address them on the subject ; in fact, one might as well invite them to allow themselves to be put to death as to become Christians."

In 1575, the Jesuits established at Bandra, near Bombay, a college called "The College of St. Anne," which soon developed into a University and conferred degrees. This university appears to have continued till its building was destroyed in 1739 by the Portuguese to prevent it from being seized and used as a fort by the Marathas.

About 1580, another Jesuit college was founded at Chaul in Goa, which had more than 200 students and taught Latin, logic, theology, Portuguese grammar, and music. Jesuit colleges were also founded about the same time at Margao and Rachol in Goa, and later at other places.

Robert de Nobili who arrived some years later and worked at Madura (1605-1656) in South India was cleverer than Xavier. He sought to become an "Indian to Indians" and a "Brah-

min to Brahmins." He described himself as Robert de Nobili a Brahmin from the West, bringing back to India a lost *Veda*. He wore a light yellow robe of a sanyasi, painted sacred marks on his forehead, engaged Brahmins as his servants, and restricted himself to vegetarian food. He would have no dealings with the lower castes and would not minister openly to low-caste

¹ Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 52-54.

Christians. He allowed Indian converts to Christianity to retain their former caste distinctions, the sacred thread, the saffron mark on their forehead, and other Hindu religious observances. He even allowed them to carry the images of Christ and the Christian Saints in a chariot in procession at night in the same manner as Hindus carried their god on Hindu festival days.

With the decline of their power, however, the system of education built up by the Portuguese broke up.

With the coming of the English, Protestants entered the field. Soon after establishing factories at Surat (1612) and Masulipatam (1623), the East India Company began to send

Under the East India Company early as 1614, took steps to recruit Indians for the propagation of the Gospel among their countrymen and to give them such education at the Company's expense as would enable them to carry out effectively the purpose for which they were enlisted, and sent an Indian youth to England for missionary training. He was christened Peter by King James I himself, and was educated there at the Company's expense.¹

In 1638, a Professorship of Arabic was established at the University of Oxford by Archbishop Laud with the object of giving special training to missionaries for work in India.

In 1659, the Court of Directors of the East India Company declared their earnest desire by all possible means to propagate the Gospel, and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships.²

In 1670, they made inquiries about the education of children of Fort St. George at Madras and, in 1673, appointed a Scotch preacher named Pringle to teach the children of Portuguese and British Eurasians and of a few Indian subordinates through the medium of a debased form of Portuguese which was then current among these classes of people.³

In 1677, the East India Company engaged Ralph Orde as School Master for the White Town of Fort St. George, Madras,

¹ N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers* p. 7.

² Government of India, Selections from Educational Records Part I, p. 3

³ N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, pp. 11-12.

on a salary of £50 a year. He taught not only English children but also Portuguese and Indian children. This was a free school, where English, Tamil, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts were taught. Its up-keep and maintenance was placed in charge of the Mayor and Alderman of the city of Madras, whose duty, *inter alia* was to maintain a convenient school-house for the teaching of the gentoos or native children to speak, read, and write the English language and to understand arithmetic and merchants' accounts."

In 1687, the Court of Directors asked the Governor of Madras to form a municipality for the town of Madras and suggested, among other things, that it might "levy a rate upon the inhabitants for the building of one or more schools for teaching the English tongue to gentoos or moors or other Indian children and for salaries to the schoolmasters." A municipality was accordingly formed and a rate was levied, but nothing was done in the way of providing schools or drawing up any scheme of education.¹

In 1698, when the Company's Charter came up for renewal, the British Parliament, at the instance of influential Churchmen in England, inserted in it a clause en-

A missonary clause joining the Company to maintain a minister in the Company's Charter in every garrison and superior factory

and to require such ministers "to apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the said Company or of their agents, in the Protestant religion," and further directing it "to provide school masters in all the Garrisons and Superior Factories where they shall be found necessary."²

The effect of this clause was to make education of the people one of the duties of the Company's chaplains and to lead to the establishment of charity schools³ on the

Charity schools at the Presidencies model of similar schools in England, at the Presidencies. Thus, St. Mary's Charity School was founded at Madras in 1715 by Rev. Mr. Stevenson, Chaplain of Fort St. George, for instruction to children

¹ J. M. Sen, *History of Elementary Education in India*, pp. 38-39.

² Charter of the East India Company, dated 5th Sept., 1698.

³ Charity Schools were schools for the education of children of the poor.

of English soldiers in the doctrines of the Church of England and for teaching the boys "to read, write, cast accounts, or what they may be further capable of," and the girls "reading and the necessary arts of housewifery.¹ A similar school was opened at Bombay in 1718 by the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain of St. Thomas's Church, with subscriptions from pious and benevolent individuals, "for teaching poor children, and instructing them in the principles of the Christian religion ;" and at Calcutta in 1731 by the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, which was formed in England in 1698, "by due and lawful means to promote Christian knowledge."

These schools were, however, intended for the education of European children, not Indian. Work for the education of Indian children did not start until some time after the arrival

of Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, two German
Madras Protestant missionaries, sent out by Dr.
Francke of Halloe (Germany) at the request of King Frederich
Danish IV of Denmark² for the purpose of con-
Missionaries verting his subjects in the Danish settlement
at Tranquebar³ to Christianity. Soon after
their arrival in 1706, they proceeded to study Tamil and to
translate the New Testament into this language.

In 1711, owing to continued ill-health Plutschau returned to Europe. He took with him a Hindu convert named Timothy (Trimurti) to Germany for training at Halle as a missionary. He was the first Hindu to visit Europe.

In 1712, a small press with Roman type was received from Europe by Ziegenbalg and, in 1713, one with Tamil type, which considerably facilitated his literary and religious work.

Ziegenbalg's missionary work was so highly approved that when he visited London after his return home in 1715, he was

Most of them owed their origin to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge founded in England in 1698. They gave instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, and taught reading, writing, and casting accounts in order to qualify their pupils for service or apprenticeship.

¹ N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, pp. 20-21

² It was then considered to be one of the duties of Christian Kings to make provision for the christianising of their non-christian subjects.

³ A corruption of Tamil *taramkambadi*, a wave-town

presented to King George I and was sent an appreciative letter by him.

In 1716, the Danish missionaries opened an institution for the training of teachers at Tranquebar, with eight students and, in 1717, with the permission of the Madras Government, they opened two charity schools at Madras—one for Portuguese children and one for Tamil children, and taught them English and the principles of Christianity. In the same year, the Company opened a school for Indian children at Cuddalore.

After Ziegenbalg's death in 1719, his work was continued by his successors—Schultz, Kiernander and Schwariz. Schwartz had studied Tamil at Halle and was therefore able, within a few months of his arrival, to take up work among the people. With his assistance, the Resident at Tanjore prevailed upon the Rajas of Tanjore, Ramnad, and Shivganga, to open English schools at these places. "The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the Natives having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object,"¹ the Company, in 1787, sanctioned a grant of 250 pagodas for the support of each of these schools, and further directed payment of a similar grant to any other schools which might be opened for the same purpose.

In the same year (1787), male and female military orphan asylums were established at Madras for the care and education of children of European and Eurasian soldiers with liberal

Bell's Monitorial System support from the Company. It is interesting to note that it was in the former institution, the Male Military Orphan Asylum at Egmore (Madras), that Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain, who superintended its work, adopted the old Indian system of teaching with the help of monitors and published an account of it, after his return to England in 1797 in his book entitled *An Experiment in Education* made at the male asylum at Madras, suggesting a system by which a school or a family may teach itself under the superintendence of the master or the parent." The system consisted in the older or more

¹ Selections from Educational Record, Pt. I, p. 3

advanced pupils teaching the younger. Each class had an equal number of teachers and pupils. When promoted to the next higher class, the teachers became the taught, and at the next promotion became teachers of the newcomers. Under this system, the master could do without assistants and carry on the work of the school with the help of monitors and a usher.

Bell's book attracted public attention in England and led to the adoption of the Madras (Monitorial) System in schools for the children of the poor founded in that country at the beginning of the 19th century.

In 1812, a Sunday School¹ was established at St. Thomas's Mount, Madras, "to afford elementary instruction on the Lancastrian² plan to the half-caste and native children of the military and other residents there," and was given a grant of 300 pagodas by the Company.

In 1822, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, addressed a circular letter to all the Collectors in the Presidency, requiring them to furnish returns of schools teaching reading and writing

Sir Thomas Munro's Circular	in their districts, showing the number of scholars in each, the caste to which they belonged, the names of the books generally used in them, the time the scholars usually continued at school, the monthly or yearly charge to the scholars, and the nature and amount of their endowment funds, if any. In his letter, he said : "It is not my intention to recommend any interference whatever in the native schools. Every thing of this kind ought to be carefully avoided, and the people should be left to manage their schools in their own way. All that we ought to do is to facilitate the operations of these schools by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them and perhaps granting additional ones where it may
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¹ The Sunday School movement in England began with the establishment of the first Sunday School at Gloucester in 1780 by one Robert Raikes, a newspaper editor. Sunday Schools imparted both religious and secular education, the latter consisting mainly in the teaching of reading and writing. Raikes's plan of Sunday teaching of the young attracted much public attention, particularly in the manufacturing towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire and led to the formation of the Sunday School Union, chiefly of Non-conformists, in 1803 and of a similar society in connection with the Church of England a few years later.

² A variation of Bell's Monitorial Plan.

appear advisable¹. The returns received from the Collectors showed that there were then (in 1826) in the Madras Presidency, 12,498 schools and 188,650 pupils under instruction in a population of 12,850,941; i.e., one school for every 1000 of the population and 1 pupil for every 67. Sir Thomas Munro observed : "The state of education here exhibited, low as it is, compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no distant period." He attributed this low state of education to the little encouragement which it received from there being but little demand for it, and the poverty of the people. "These difficulties may be gradually surmounted. The hindrance which is given to education by the poverty of the people may in a great degree be removed by the endowment of schools throughout the country by Government, and the want of encouragement will be remedied by good education being rendered more easy and general, and by the preference which will naturally be given to well-educated men in all public offices. No progress, however, can be made without a body of better instructed teachers than we have at present ; but such a body cannot be had without an income sufficient to afford a comfortable livelihood to each individual belonging to it. A moderate allowance should therefore be secured to them by Government, sufficient to place them above want ; the rest should be derived from their own industry. If they are superior in knowledge and diligence to the common village school masters, scholars will flock to them and augment their income. What is first wanted, therefore, is a school for educating teachers, as proposed by the Committee of the Madras School Book Society....I think that they should be authorised to draw 700 rupees monthly from the Treasury for the purposes they have stated, namely, for the payment of the interest of money employed in building and the salaries of teachers, 500 ; and for the expenses of the press, 200. I would next propose that the Government should establish, in each Collectorate, two principal schools, one for Hindoos and the other for Mahomedans ; and that hereafter, as teachers can be found, the Hindoo schools might be augmented so as to give one to each Tahsildary or about 15 to each Collectorate.

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, 1832, p. 350

We ought to extend to our Mahomedan subjects the same advantages of education as to our Hindoo subjects. Whatever expense Government may incur in the education of the people will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country ; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertions to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people."

He also recommended the appointment of a Committee of Public Instruction in order to superintend the establishment of Government schools in suitable places, to fix the books to be used in them, and to ascertain and report to Government in what measure the instruction of the natives might be best promoted. Sir Thomas Munro's proposals were adopted by his Council, and a Committee of Public Instruction was appointed for the improvement of education of the people of the Presidency in 1826. This measure was the beginning of organised education in the Madras Presidency.

Sir Thomas Munro held very liberal views about the future. He wrote : "We must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interest as well as their own and that of the rest of the world ; and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions."

Indigenous education then prevalent in the Madras Presidency was described by Mr. Campbell, Collector of Bellary District, in his report on the subject as follows :

"The education of the Hindoo youth generally commences when they are five years old ; on reaching this age, the master and scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent are invited to the house of his parents ; the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Ganesh, and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it : the school master sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Ganesh, entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic name of the deity, and is dismissed with a present

Indigenous Education in Madras

from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning commences the great work of his education.

"Some children continue at school only five years; the parents, through poverty or other circumstances, being often obliged to take them away; and consequently in such cases the merest smattering of an education is obtained: where parents can afford it, and take lively interest in the culture of their children's minds, they not unfrequently continue at school as long as 14 and 15 years.

"The internal routine of duty for each day will be found, with very few exemptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for opening school is six o'clock; the first child who enters has the name *Saraswati* or the goddess of learning written upon the palm of his hand as a sign of honour, and on the hand of the second a cypher is written, to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe; the fourth two; and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. This custom, as well as the punishment in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged, and often suspended by both hands and a pulley to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy, mode of punishment.

"When the whole are assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitor whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school. The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters which he learns by writing them with his finger on the ground in sand, and not by pronouncing the alphabet, as among European nations. When he becomes dexterous in writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on leaves, or with a kind of reed on paper and sometimes on leaves, or with a kind of pencil, a kind of white clay substance somewhat resembling a crayon but somewhat harder, on a common oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length, planed smooth and smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal.

"Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds or the manner of embodying the symbols of the vowels in the consonants, and the formation of syllables, etc., then the names of men, villages, animals, etc, and lastly arithmetical signs. He then commits to memory an addition table and counts from 1 to 100, he afterwards works easy sums in addition and subtraction of money, multiplication and the reduction of money, measures, etc. Here great pains are taken with the scholar in teaching him the fractions of an integer which descend, not by tens as in our decimal fractions, but by fours and are carried to a great extent. In order that these fractions, together with the arithmetical tables in addition, multiplication, and the three-fold measures of capacity, weight, and extent, may be rendered quite familiar to the minds of the scholars they are made to stand up twice a day in rows, and repeat the whole after one of the monitors.

"The other parts of a native's education consist in deciphering various kinds of handwriting in public and other letters which the school master collects from different sources, writing common letters, drawing up forms of agreement, reading fables and legendary tales, and committing various kinds of poetry to memory, chiefly with a view to attaining distinctness and clearness, together with readiness and correctness in reading any kind of composition.

"The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools and the system by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced and, at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserved the imitation it has received in England."¹

The Charity School opened in Bombay in 1718 by the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain of St. Thomas's Church, was supported by voluntary subscriptions till 1807, when the East

Bombay India Company took it under its own control and gave it a grant of Rs. 3,600 p. a. In 1815, the Company transferred it, with its grant of Rs. 3,600, to the "Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay" (afterwards known as the Bombay Education Society) which was founded in that year with Sir Evan

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-53

Nepean, Governor of Bombay, as President, by members of the Church of England resident in Bombay who supported the Charity

Bombay Education Society School. The Society admitted Indian as well as European children to its schools and taught “Reading, writing, arithmetic, and such other useful branches of education as may hereafter appear necessary ; and particularly the principles of the Protestant Religion according to the Church of England and in conformity with the system practised by Dr. Bell.” It did not, however, compel non-Christian Indian children to attend religious instruction.

In the very first school opened by the Society in 1815, there were several non-European children, admitted at their own expense, who thought it an advantage to have instruction in reading, writing and cyphering at the Central School, “as in the ordinary native schools they have little means of learning the English language, which is in a great degree necessary at Bombay to qualify them for many situations.”¹

The method of instruction adopted in the Society’s schools was reported in its second Report as follows :

“As the National system of education in the English schools,² which is adopted in the school at Bombay, is only an improved extension of that generally practised by the natives of Hindooostan, the following brief statement of the Hindoo practice, chiefly extracted from Dr. Taylor’s appendix to the *Lilawaty* may not be uninteresting.

“On joining the school the young pupil, after having performed the preliminary ceremonies, proceeds to learn, first the vowels, then the consonants and the finally the combinations of the vowels and the consonants. These operations are performed on a board 12 inches long and 8 inches broad ; a white ground being first formed with a kind of pipe clay, the board is covered with sand or *gulal* which is flour dyed of purple colour ; the forms of the figures or letters are traced with a reed or small wooden style, which, displacing the sand or coloured flour, leaves the white ground exposed ; by drawing a roller over the ground or by gently shaking the board, these forms are easily

¹ Second Report of the Bombay Education Society, 1817, p. 17

² i.e., schools in England.

obliterated and by means of grooves in the rollers ruled lines are at the same time made at any distance from each other required ; five or six vowels having been written down on the board, the scholar retraces their forms by drawing his style over the characters which have been written and at the same time pronouncing audibly the name of each, until the forms of the letters given in the lesson have become so familiar that he can write them without a copy and pronounce their names. In the next lesson, five or six more letters are put down, which the scholar learns to write in the same manner as before ; and thus he proceeds until he has learned to write and read the whole number of vowels and consonants and the combinations of these letters according to his alphabet.

"After the learning of the alphabet, the scholar proceeds to the numerical figures, which he retraces on the sand and pronounces in the same manner as before ; in the more advanced stages, however, and particularly when the arithmetical operations extend to some length, the scholars use a board painted with a black ground, upon which they write with a mixture of chalk and water. In the system of education thus briefly detailed, it will be observed that writing and reading are taught together instead of being made different branches of instruction ; while tracing the forms of the letters or figures, the scholar at the same time repeats their names, a practice which is followed also when he proceeds to cyphering.

"But what chiefly distinguishes the Hindoo schools and which has been so well adopted in the National System is the plan of instruction by the scholars themselves. When a boy joins the school, he is immediately put under the tuition and care of one who is more advanced and whose duty it is to give lessons to his young pupil, to assist him in learning, and to report his behaviour and progress to the master. The scholars are not classed, but are generally paired off, each pair consisting of an instructor and a pupil. These pairs are so arranged that a boy less advanced may sit next to one who has made greater progress and from whom he receives assistance and instruction ; when, however, several of the elder boys have made considerable and nearly equal progress, they are seated together in one line and receive their instruction directly from the master. By these means the master has sufficient leisure to exercise a vigilant

superintendence over the school and of inquiring into the progress made by each pupil under his instruction.

"To these judicious arrangements and practices several modifications and important additions have been made under the National system; principally, 1st, in the division of the school into classes, each under the tuition of one of the scholars, 2nd, in reading word by word backwards and sometimes syllabically, 3rd, in reiterating spelling, 4th, in the reading and cyphering lessons being accompanied with questions, 5th, in keeping a register of the business in each class, 6th, in the mode of rewards and punishments. To these must be added the use of small cheap books, and especially, the interrogative mode of communicating religious instruction".¹

In 1818, the Society opened schools for Indian children in the Fort, at Girgaun, and at Mazagaon in Bombay. English was taught in them all by European teachers "without the slightest objection from the natives, the general design being to teach both the English and native languages, the former of which the Natives of this Presidency are in general desirous of learning, as it qualifies them for many situations in the public and mercantile offices and very much facilitates their intercourse with Europeans."²

In 1820, at a meeting presided over by Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, the Society appointed a special committee called the Native School and School Book Committee (i) to assist and improve existing schools and to establish and support any more schools which might be required with a view to the more general diffusion of useful knowledge among the people "primarily in the languages of the country," (ii) to provide suitable books for use in schools for Indian children in several languages, English as well as Indian, and to assist in the preparation, publication, and cheap or gratuitous supply of other works which may be deemed useful by the Committee"³

The circumstances which led to its appointment were fully stated by the Society as follows :

"The imparting to the natives of the province some improvement to their present education has ever been the object of the

¹ Fourth Report of the Bombay Education Society, 1819, p. 20

² Sixth Report of the Bombay Education Society, 1821, pp. 34-35

³ *Ibid.*

Society's earnest interest. The means which they have hitherto been able to pursue have been partial and inadequate ; neither did the state of their own funds nor their rules under which they were collected seem to warrant the Managing Committee in appropriating to such purpose more than occasional sums from what might be more especially intended for the benefit and education of the children of Europeans.

"Another very serious obstacle to the promotion of their designs was the deficiency of plain and useful tracts in the languages of the country. This they have more than once lamented, and endeavoured in some degree to remedy as far as their limited funds would permit.

"In imparting to the natives useful knowledge to any extent and with the hope of any good and permanent effect, it is evident, the language of the country must be the chief and proper vehicle. The English language is almost confined to the island of Bombay, and here is principally to be found among those natives who are anxious to acquire it for the furtherance of mercantile pursuits or for facilitating their intercourse or employment with Europeans ; the great body of the people of the province have no occasion for its use and are entirely ignorant of it. However advantageously, therefore, the English language may be taught to many at the Presidency and to some of a higher class at the out-stations, yet it is impossible to look, with any hope of success, to imparting knowledge *generally* in a language which must remain to the greater portion a foreign one."

In 1821, Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner of the Deccan, established the Poona Sanskrit College, its object being "the encouragement and improvement of the useful parts of Hindu learning and also to introduce, as far as possible the means of communicating to our new subjects such branches of European knowledge as they may be able and willing to receive." Another object was "to preserve the attainment of learned Brahmins who had suffered severely by the change of government and who had considerable influence over the feelings and conduct of the people at large."¹

The subjects taught in the college included ; Rigveda, Yajurveda, Dharmashastra (Religion), Vyakarana (Grammar), Nyaya

¹ Report of the Board of Education, Bombay, for the years 1840-41, p. 24.

(Logic), Jyotish (Astronomy), Alankara (Rhetoric), Vedanta (Philosophy), and Ayurveda (Medicine).

In the same year, an English school at Panwel and, two years later, another at Thana in Northern Konkan were opened by Government "for the immediate purpose of communicating to natives, destined for the public service in the revenue and judicial departments, so much learning as was necessary to qualify them for that service."¹

By this time, the Bombay Education Society had come to feel that it had undertaken work which went beyond the original aim of its institution and the limit of the funds at its disposal.

Native School Book and School Society This feeling led, in 1822, to the separation of the Native School and School Book Committee from the parent body and to its formation into a "Native School Book and School Society" with Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, as President. The object of this new society was "primarily to promote useful knowledge in the languages of the country, both by procuring and circulating publications and by establishing and assisting native schools."² Natives were, however, to continue to be received for learning English in the schools of the parent society.

The Bombay Native School Book and School Society, soon after its formation, appointed a special committee to examine the system of education prevailing in the province and to suggest measures for its improvement and extension. In 1823, this Committee reported, as radical defects, want of books, method, teachers, and funds. It suggested the vernacular school books required and also rules and principles for the guidance of compilers and translators. It also recommended the training of six intelligent natives, Marathi and Gujarati, in the Lancastrian system of teaching and their appointment as head masters and superintendents of Government primary schools with a view to introducing therein of this system of teaching.

The Society endorsed the Committee's recommendations,

¹ Fisher's Memoir (published in the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, dated 16th August, 1932," p. 301).

² English Report of the Bombay Education Society, 1823. p. 17

and proceeded to draw up a plan for the uniform management of schools according to the Lancastrian system, then in vogue in England, and to get a small treatise on it compiled by Captain Molesworth and translated into the different vernacular languages; and to arrange for the preparation of school books in the different languages and for the training of teachers for the Government Vernacular Schools in the Lancastrian system of teaching. The Committee further resolved to extend the scope of its scheme of education by including in it provision for schools for the teaching of English, and applied to Government for financial assistance in furtherance of these proposals.

This application occasioned Elphinstone's famous Minute on Education of December, 1823. Not only did he support Elphinstone's the Society's proposals, but he discussed in it Minute the whole question of education in a broad and liberal spirit and indicated the following as the principal measures required for its diffusion in the Presidency.

"1st, to *improve* the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to *increase* the number of schools; 2nd, to supply them with school-books; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education; 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native language; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge."¹

In his evidence before the Lord's Committee in 1830, he expressed himself on the subject as follows :

"So far as reading and writing go, though by no means so extensive as might be desired, the state of native education is creditable to the people, being carried on entirely by themselves; but in all the higher branches, it is totally defective. The objects of education may be most usefully effected by the

¹ Elphinstone's Minute on Education, para 7.

encouragement to the greatest extent of village schools ; by printing books for the use of those schools, and books of entertainment and instruction for the lower classes of the people ; by the foundation of colleges for the higher branches of knowledge, and by the publication of books in those departments of instruction ; probably more by a systematic education of the natives for office than by any other means, as contributing so much to promote the fitness of the natives for taking a share in the administration of the country and also as affording a stimulus to education by the connection which it establishes between instruction and promotion. The ultimate result might be the making over all civil business to the natives, retaining the political and military in the hands of Europeans.”¹

He observed : “I can conceive no objection that can be urged to these proposals except the greatness of the expense, to which I would oppose the magnitude of the object. It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring ; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this.”²

In his reply to Circular Letter from Mr. T. Hyde Williers, Secretary to the Commissioners for the affairs of India, dated February 11, 1832, he observed :

“I conceive that it is more important to impart a high degree of education to the upper classes than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people. That also is highly important ; but it is not the point in which there is most deficiency at present. It will, besides, be much easier to make the lower orders desirous of learning to read, after a spirit of inquiry and improvement shall have been introduced among their superiors. The most important branch of education, in my opinion, is that designed to prepare natives for public employment. It is impor-

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix I, Public, pp. 51-52.

² Elphinstone’s Minute on Education, para 43.

tant, not only from its contributing directly to the general improvement, but also from the stimulus it affords to education among the better class of natives, by connecting it with their interest.”¹

With regard to the education of the poor, that must in all stages of society be in a great measure the charge of the Government.”²

As regards missionary activity which was then very great, he wrote : “To the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree, with our plans of education, I must strongly object. I cannot agree to clog with any additional difficulty a plan which has already so many obstructions to surmount. I am convinced that the conversion of the natives must infallibly result from the diffusion of knowledge among them. Fortunately, they are not aware of the connections, or all attacks on their ignorance would be as vigorously resisted as if they were on their religion. The only effect of introducing Christianity into our schools would be to sound the alarm, and warn the Brahmins of the approaching danger.”³

In his reply to Mr. Willier’s Circular also he said :

“The result of educating natives, both in English and in their own language, must be favourable to the progress of Christianity ; indeed education seems to me the only means by which there is any chance of favouring its progress.”⁴

As regards English education and the means of creating a demand for it, he observed : “If English could be at all diffused among persons who had the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge, by means of it, would be accelerated in a ten-fold ratio, since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through English would be able to communicate it in his own language to his countrymen. At present, however, there is but little desire to learn English with any such view. The first step towards creating such a desire would be to establish a school at Bombay where English might be taught classically,

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix 1, Public, 1832, p. 44.

² Elphinstone’s Minute para 48.

³ *Ibid.*, para : 58.

⁴ Report from to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix 1. Public, 1832 p. 45.

and where instruction might also be given in that language on history, geography, and the popular branches of science.”¹

In his reply to Mr. Willier’s circular he also observed :

“I conceive that the study of English ought to be encouraged by all means and that few things will be so effectual in enlightening the natives, and bringing them nearer to us ; but I have no hope that ever it will be more than a learned language or at best a language spoken among people of education as Persian is now in some parts of India. I believe there has been no instance of one language being supplanted by another unless among people in a very low stage of civilisation, or even among them, unless they were previously reduced either to actual servitude, or to a state very little less dependent.”²

As regards the Poona Sanskrit College which had not much succeeded and which, therefore, the Court of Directors had suggested, should be closed. Elphinstone wrote : “One of the principal objects of the Peshwa’s Government was the maintenance of Brahmins. It is known to the Honourable Court that he annually distributed five lacs of rupees among that order under the name of *dakshina* ; but it must be observed that the *dakshina* formed but a small portion of his largesses to Brahmins, and the number of persons devoted to Hindu learning and religion, who were supported by him, exceeded what would readily be supposed. With all the favour that we have shown this class of his dependents, great numbers of them are reduced to distress, and are subsisting on the sale of shawls and other articles, which they received in better times, while others have already reached the extremity of want which follows the consumption of all their former accumulation. Considering the numbers and the influence of this description of people, it surely cannot be reckoned unimportant towards influencing public opinion that such a sum as could be spared should be set aside for their maintenance ; and as it is the object of our enemies to inculcate the opinion that we wish to change the religion and manners of the Hindus, it seems equally popular and reasonable to apply part of that sum to the encouragement of their learning.”³

¹ *Ibid.*, para 27.

² Report from Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix I. Public, 1832, p. 44.

³ *Ibid.*, paras 60-65.

He explained that with the *dakshina*, "a class of men was maintained whose time was devoted to the cultivation of their understanding ; their learning may have been obscure and degenerate, but it bore some affinity to real science, into which it might in time have been improved. They were not, perhaps, much inferior to those monks among whom the seeds of European learning were long kept alive ; and their extinction, if it did not occasion the loss of much present wisdom, would have cut off all hope for the future. When once the college had become an established place of resort for Brahmins, it would be easy to introduce by degrees improvements into the system of education, and thus render the institution a powerful instrument for the diffusion of civilisation." He added : "At no time, however, could I wish that the purely Hindu part of the course should be totally abandoned. It would surely be a preposterous way of adding to the intellectual treasures of a nation to begin by the destruction of its indigenous literature ; and I cannot but think that the future attainments of the natives will be increased in extent as well as in variety by being, as it were, engrafted on their own previous knowledge, and imbued with their own original and peculiar character."

Mr. Warden, a member of Elphinstone's Council, did not agree with the latter (Elphinstone) in approving some of the measures suggested by the special committee. In maturing a plan for the diffusion of an improved system of education among the natives, he held : "The main point for the Government to attend to is to be careful not to take too much upon itself ; it ought to be our policy to excite the zeal of individuals, by holding out a preference to official employment to those who may qualify themselves by a particular course of study, rather than to be too forward in incurring the greater portion of the expense in diffusing education.

"Government should not be too forward in taking the education of natives on itself, nor interfere too much in the institutions that exist in the country, imperfect as they may be. I would leave the native village schools untouched and unnoticed, without attempting to institute examinations, or to distribute prizes, on the part of the Government. I question whether this interference, even if practicable, would not be prejudicial. The schools to be established on a better model, in addition to these,

should be few in number, but sufficient in the means of instruction and of producing school masters.

"For the establishment of the most efficient seminary at the Presidency, as a basis for the education of natives, I yield my most cordial assent. It is here that all our efforts and resources should be concentrated, whence the rays of education could be the most advantageously diffused, gradually to improve the mental and moral condition of India..... Whenever the seminary may be competent to furnish well qualified school mastersthe most capable might be selected and stationed in each Zilla under the control of collectors.

"I would establish it as a rule that no person be entertained in any office under the Government even down to a peon, without the production of a certificate of his qualification in reading and writing either in English or his own language.....

"With respect to funds, it appears to me objectionable to appropriate any particular source of receipt towards the dissemination of education.

"No doubt the progress of knowledge can be most effectively and economically promoted by a study of the English language.

"A classical knowledge of English ought to constitute the chief object of the Bombay seminary. As far as I have conversed with the natives, they are anxious that their children should be thoroughly grounded in the English language."

He held that it was "better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many, to be satisfied with laying the foundation of a good edifice and not desire to accomplish in a day what must be the work of a century. But the object of giving a good deal of knowledge to a few can only be promoted by a better system of education ; and the surest mode of diffusing a better system is by making the study of the English language the primary, and not the merely secondary object of attention in the education of the natives." He considered : "There was nothing chimerical in laying the foundation of a good edifice for teaching what the higher classes of natives are anxious to learn, a knowledge of English."¹

¹ Warden's Minutes dated December 23, 1823, para : 13, and March 24, 1928, para: 5 (Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix I, Public, dated 16th August 1832," pp. 328 and 384).

In reply to Mr. Willier's Circular above referred to, he observed :

"I do not contemplate the education of a population of eighty millions of souls in the English language ; but I do contemplate, and at no distant period, its general use in all our proceedings, and its ultimate foundation, as the language of the educated classes of British India. I feel persuaded that a more familiar acquaintance with the English language would, to the natives, be the surest source of intellectual improvement, and might become the most durable tie between Britain and India. In any plan, therefore, for the public education of the natives, the complete knowledge of our language ought to form so prominent an object as to lay the ground for its gradually becoming at the least the established vehicle of legal and official business. The English language would thus in India, as in America, be the lasting monument of our dominion, and it is not too much to hope that it might also be the medium through which the inhabitants of those vast regions might hereafter rival the rest of the civilised world, in the expression of all that most exercises and distinguishes human intellect."

"An improved system of education and more correct and enlarged views, cannot fail of impressing on the natives a conviction of the absurdity, the fallacies and errors of their religion ; and must gradually lead to the advancement and ultimate triumph of true revelation" (Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix I, Public, p. 25).

Owing to this difference of opinion, only a small part of Elphinstone's scheme could be immediately carried out. A grant of Rs. 600 per mensem was made to the Native School Book and School Society ; the cost of compiling and printing the Society's school books was undertaken by Government ; and reports on the number and condition of indigenous schools throughout the Presidency were called for from the district officers. The reports received from the district officers roughly estimated the number of indigenous schools to be 1500 and the number of children attending them 31,000. The instruction imparted in these schools, with very few exceptions, comprised "the rudiments of writing and ciphering necessary for the business of a shopkeeper or talati."

In 1824, without waiting for the approval of the Court

of Directors of the Company, Elphinstone sanctioned on his own responsibility the opening of an English School in Bombay by the Society. One Robert Murphy, a Corporal¹ in the artillery was appointed its head master on a monthly salary of Rs. 50,

Central English School to be increased by Rs. 50 when he passed an examination in Marathi and, again, by Rs. 50 when he passed another in Gujarati.

He worked the school on the monitorial plan with occasional help from the native Secretary of the Society and his deputy. This was the origin of the Elphinstone Native Education Institution which, in course of time, developed into the present Elphinstone High School and Elphinstone College. In this school, English was taught "grammatically and according to the method of double translation, by which means a correct knowledge not only of it but of the relative capabilities of their mother tongue is impressed on the minds of the scholars."

Although the Native School Book and School Society considered the study of the English language "as of secondary importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement of the natives," it stated in its report for the years 1825-26 on the English school that thought it "desirable to render those few scholars who evince an inclination and have leisure to con-

¹ It was not easy in those early days to obtain the right type of men for the higher or even the lower teaching posts. There were not many Europeans in India who were prepared to accept such positions. In one of his minutes, as President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, Macaulay wrote in 1837; "I am more and more convinced that as our operations extend, and as our schools multiply, it will become more and more necessary for us to take some course for procuring a regular supply of good masters from England. At present, we are forced to put up with the leavings of every other trade or profession. A missionary who becomes tired of converting, a newspaper writer who has quarrelled with the editor, a shopkeeper who has failed, a clerk in a public office who has lost his place, are the sort of people whom we are forced to look to. Even of these, the supply is so limited and uncertain that we can hardly venture to reject any men who can read, write and work a sum." (History of Hooghly College, p. 13). In England, too, the schoolmasters were then no better. Macaulay himself described them in his usual rhetorical style in his speech in the House of Commons in 1847 as "the refuse of all other callings, discarded footmen, ruined pedlars, men who cannot work a sum in the rule of three, men who cannot write a common letter without blunders, men who do not know whether the earth is a sphere or a cube, men who do not know whether Jerusalem is in Asia or America."

tinue their studies in the English language capable of understanding all kinds of works on literature and science.... But as these works abound in ideas with which the natives are totally unacquainted, these ideas will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother tongue of each scholar. It will, therefore, no doubt be admitted that the time and labour both of the master and the scholar would be materially saved, were these indispensable explanations previously embodied in works written in the native languages ; and thus it again appears that English can never become the most facile and successful medium of communicating to the natives, as a body, the literature, science, and morality of Europe." Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, endorsed these arguments as "conclusive against depending on English schools alone ; but if a certain number of natives can be prevailed on to devote themselves to the acquisition of European knowledge through the English language, it is to be hoped that by translations and other works, they would greatly contribute to the progress of their countrymen, supposing the latter to have been properly prepared by previous, instruction through their own languages."

In 1825, the Directors of the East India Company approved of Elphinstone's proposals for the opening of an English school in Bombay and for the provision of vernacular schools for elementary education of the mass of the people. They expressed the opinion that, "the grand attention of Government should, in the first instance, be directed to affording means to their subjects at large to acquire simply the elementary parts of literature, reading, writing, and arithmetic."¹

In 1826, the Society sent out 24 trained teachers from its vernacular schools to take charge of primary schools which Government had then established at its own expense in district towns in Konkan, the Deccan, and Gujarat under the superintendence of the District Collectors. The system of instruction in these schools was Lancastrian or monitorial. Each class had its monitor, while the master exercised supervision over all and gave particular attention to the senior classes. The instruction

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix 1, Public, dated 16th August, 1832 p. 382.

comprised reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and moral instruction.¹

The Society opened also an Engineering Class with 36 Indian and 14 European or Eurasian pupils under the superintendence of Captain Jervis, one of the Society's Secretaries,

Engineering Class in Bombay with the object of "preparing a body of men to act under officers of Government in superintending surveys and buildings and of providing for a more general diffusion of mathematical and physical knowledge, as well practical as mechanical, among the native subjects of this Presidency, in their own vernacular dialects."

In the same year, a Medical Class was also opened in Bombay, under the name of "School for Native Doctors," for the instruction of natives in medicine, with 20 students.

Medical Class in Bombay It is noteworthy that instruction in both the Engineering Class and the Medical School was imparted through the medium of the local vernaculars.

Much of the credit for these activities of the Society was due to Mountstuart Elphinstone who, as its President, (1823-1827), had initiated, guided, and supported all its proceedings.

As regards the employment of natives in the Company's service, Elphinstone expressed himself as follows in a letter dated October 27, 1822, to Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras :

"Besides the necessity for having good native advisers in governing natives, it is necessary that we should have the way for the introduction of the natives to some share in the government of their own country. It may be half a century before we are obliged to do so ; but the system of government and of education which we have already established must some time or other work such a change on the people of this country that it will not be possible to confine them to subordinate employments ; and if we have not previously opened vents for their ambition and ability, we may expect an explosion which will overturn our government."²

¹ Report of the Board of Education, Bombay, for the year 1840-1841, No. 1, p. 51

² Bradshaw, J., *Rulers of India, Sir Thomas Munro*, pp. 191-92.

Sir John Malcolm, who succeeded Elphinstone was of opinion that knowledge of the English language was not necessary for the natives except for a certain portion of them who would be instructed by the Elphinstone Professors. "To natives so educated I look for aid," he wrote, "in the diffusion of knowledge among their country men, through the medium of their vernacular dialects and I certainly think it is only by knowledge being accessible through the latter medium that it ever can be propagated to any general or beneficial purpose." He added : "The complete accomplishment of the end we have in view will be effected by the establishment of the Elphinstone Professors, whose duty it will be to teach the few who are to teach the many and from whom, as a source the natives of this quarter of India will be able to obtain that information and knowledge which is best suited to their wishes, their talents and their various occupations in life.

"One of the chief objects I expect from diffusing education among the natives of India, is an increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement, and of security. I cannot look for reduction of expense in the different branches of our government from any diminution of the salaries now enjoyed by European public servants, but I do look to it from many of the duties they now have to perform being executed by natives on diminished salaries. I further look to the employment of the latter in such duties of trust and responsibility as the only mode in which we can promote their improvement ; and I must deem the instruction we are giving them dangerous, instead of useful, unless the road is opened wide, to those who receive it, to every prospect of honest ambition and honourable distinction."¹

The Report of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut dated 16th October, 1829, showed that at this time, in the British territories, dependent on Bombay, containing a population of 4,681,735 souls there were 1705 schools with 35,153 pupils ; 25 schools with 1315 pupils being maintained by the government and 1680 were village schools with 3,3,838 pupils ; giving an average of

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 16th August 1832, Appendix I, Public, pp. 385-87.

one pupil in a population of 133. "In England, one in 16 is educated ; in France one in 30 ; and in Russia one in 954." (Mr. Warden's reply, Select Committee's Report, Appendix I, Public, p. 24).

In 1831, the natives of Bombay submitted a petition to Government asking that no native should be admissible after a time into a public office who could not read, write, and speak the English language.¹

In 1833, the Poona English School was established with the view of communicating to the natives a knowledge of the English language, and to those who had made some progress, the elements of history, geography, astronomy, and experimental philosophy.²

In 1834, the Society, with the approval of Government, founded the Elphinstone College with a fund of over two lakhs of rupees that had been raised in 1827 by the people of Bombay

Elphinstone to commemorate the services of Mountstuart
College Elphinstone to the Presidency. Government
hoped that the College would be instrumental
in raising "a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and
morality for high employment in the Civil administration of
India."³ Government assumed the general superintendence of
the College and located it in the Town Hall, while the Native
Education Society's Central English School which was the main
feeder of the college continued under the management of the
Society and in its own building. This difference in the manage-
ment and locating of the college and its feeder caused disagree-
ment and dissension and hampered the progress of the college.

In the same year, Government appointed a Committee to inquire into the working of the Poona (Sanskrit College Reform) Sanskrit College which was found to be working unsatisfactorily. This Committee reported that the institution had failed of its object, that it had fulfilled no purpose, but that of perpetuating prejudices and false systems of opinions, and recommended that unless it could be reformed, it should be abolished. Thereupon,

¹ Select Committee's Report, p. 70.

² Report of the Board of Education, Bombay, for the years 1840-1841,
pp. 24-27.

³ Appendix to the Report of the Indian Education Commission Bombay
Vol. 1, p. 8.

Government resolved "to maintain the college on a reformed plan and under special superintendence. One main ground of retaining to Institution was the importance of the preservation and cultivation of the Sanskrit language with reference to the improvement through it of the vernacular languages that are derivatives from it." It was argued that Sanskrit was as essential to students in India as Latin was to students in Europe. It was the language of the laws and literature as well as of the religion of this country. And as English was necessary, in the then circumstances of this country, to furnish ideas to the native-mind, so was Sanskrit equally necessary to ensure the right expression of those ideas in the vernacular tongues. By the abolition, therefore, of the study of Sanskrit literature, would be lost a powerful aid in the diffusion of true science. On these considerations, Government, in 1837, directed the following branches to be retained, *viz.*, dharmashastra or law, vyakarana or grammar, jyotish or astronomy, and alankar or rhetoric, to which were afterwards added nyaya or logic and ayurveda or medicine. They also appointed Captain Candy as Superintendent of the college and added to the staff a teacher of the vernacular language., "Hitherto it had been too much the case that those who had been educated in the college left it with a contempt for their mother-tongue and without the ability to write even a common letter in it with propriety..... Hitherto classical learning and a knowledge of the common business of life have been thought incompatible ; at least they have seldom been combined in the same person. Karkoons make no pretensions to learning, and Pundits are useless as men of business. But now, we may look forward to many leaving the college whose learning will entitle them to respect among literates and whose attainments in the ordinary branches of education will fit them to discharge with credit the duties of any situation which they may obtain."¹

Further, the college which had hitherto been open to Brahmins alone was opened to all classes.

It is worthy of note that Captain Candy frankly confessed in his report that the efficiency of his superintendence of the college was necessarily limited by his little knowledge of Sanskrit.

¹ Report of the Board of Education for 1840-41, pp. 24-28.

He was unable to direct the studies of the pupils from his own acquaintance with the books that should be read.

On the Vernacular Department thus introduced, Captain Candy reported in 1840 as follows : "I am more and more convinced of the importance of this department of the college. Without it, the major part of the students would leave the college unable even to read or write a letter in the common written characters of their mother tongue, and destitute of qualifications for any offices, except those few which belong exclusively to Pundits. Most of them would have no better prospect than that of obtaining a precarious subsistence as retainers or dependants of Sirdars or rich men who covet the merit of being Patrons. But the students who are now in the College will enter the busy scene of life under more advantageous circumstances, and as they will be qualified as well for common situations as for those of learning, they will have better prospects of advancing themselves. Among other things, I look forward to these students furnishing a supply of superior school masters for the Government vernacular schools.

"Many of the present vernacular school masters, from their want of acquaintance with Sanskrit, are ignorant of the exact power and meaning of very many words that are in use in Marathi, but the students from the college becoming school masters will be free from this defect."¹

Captain Candy also advocated the establishment of an English class in the college. In his report for the year 1840, he wrote : "Without it, the objects which the founders of the

Capt. Candy's views on the relative place of English, Sanskrit, and the Vernaculars

college had in view can scarcely be attained. These objects were stated to be the encouragement and improvement of the useful parts of Hindoo learning and also to introduce, as far as possible, the means of communicating to our new subjects such branches of European knowledge as they may be able and willing

to receive. For both these objects, but especially for the latter, an English class is highly important. It seems to me that too much encouragement cannot be given to the study of English, nor too much value put upon it, *in its proper place and connection*, in

¹ *Ibid.*

a plan for the intellectual and moral improvement of India. This place I conceive to be that of *supplying ideas* and the *matter of instruction*, not that of being the medium of instruction. The medium through which the mass of the population must be instructed, I humbly conceive, must be their vernacular tongues, and neither English nor Sanskrit. Sanskrit I conceive to be the grand storehouse from which strength and beauty may be drawn for the vernacular languages and it is, therefore, highly deserving of cultivation, but it cannot furnish from its stores the matter of instruction, nor can it ever be the medium of instruction to more than a few. In a word, knowledge must be drawn from the stores of the English language, the vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose. I look on every native who possesses a good knowledge of his own mother tongue, of Sanskrit, and of English, to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefit to his countrymen. It is with the view of *raising up a class of such* that I now venture to propose the establishment of an English branch in the college.”¹

The Board of Education admitted “the importance of raising up a body of men capable of opening the stores of knowledge which are locked up in English and of making them accessible to their countrymen through translations into the vernaculars”² and arranged, in 1842, for the teaching of English to promising students of the Sanskrit College in the neighbouring Poona English School.

When Captain Candy was asked by Government to report his views regarding the extension of English education in the Presidency, he stated :

“The National Education of India cannot be said to be on a suitable basis, till there is a vernacular school in every village and an English school in every zilla. After these shall have been in operation a few years, I doubt not there will be added to them a college for every province. There is a great desire on the part of native young men to study English. I would not at all intimate that this desire springs from a love of knowledge for its own sake.

¹ Report of the Board of Education, Bombay, for the years 1840-41, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Its source is doubtless the conviction which is daily increasing in the native mind that, ere long, a knowledge of English will be the chief, if not the sole, road to situations of honour and enrolment. It is the part of wisdom, I conceive, to take advantage of this state of the native mind and to encourage that study which is in every point of view so desirable. Of the many who will begin the acquisition of English with no other object than of securing a livelihood, not a few, we may hope, will be so captivated with the charms of science as to need no other motive but love to pursue the delightful study. We may look forward, I think, to this class for some invaluable instruments in the national enlightenment of India. These will be the persons to render accessible to their countrymen, through translations, the rich stores that are contained in the English language. No foreigner, however well versed he may be in native languages, can do this work so well as these will do ; for there are niceties in every language which can be fully mastered only by those of whom it is the mother tongue. I think then that there should be established at once an English school in every collectorate of the Deccan and the Concan.

"To render the proposed English schools really efficient, special care should be taken in the appointment of teachers. It would be advantageous to have a qualified European teacher appointed to each Zilla English school, but this probably would be impracticable. Perhaps some native young men may be found, alumni of the Elphinstone College or of the Native Education Society's English School, who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the genius and construction of the English language to qualify them to be teachers of it. But if natives be appointed teachers, there should at least be an European Superintendent to the circle of English schools. He should visit the schools in rotation, staying sufficiently long at each to be able to form a correct judgment of the master and his mode of teaching, so that he may confirm that which is right and rectify that which is wrong. If masters be appointed who have no higher qualification than that of being good penmen and of being able to put together a few sentences of which the words are English but the construction native, the acquirements of the scholars cannot be expected to be of a higher kind.

*I would strongly recommend that it should be established.

as a rule that no scholar be admitted into a Zilla English school, who has not acquired a grammatical knowledge of his native tongue. The benefit of this is two-fold. It will secure to the English schools a class of scholars whose minds have been trained and exercised and who will therefore enter on their new study under favourable circumstances. It will have a most beneficial reflex influence on the vernacular schools, as it will stimulate all to acquire that knowledge which will qualify them for admission into an English school.

"As it is not proposed to have at present more than one English school in a zilla, a serious difficulty presents itself with reference to its connection with the vernacular schools in other towns.

"I would suggest, therefore, that in every zilla school there should be two sets of scholars. The first comprising all who are able to support themselves, whether belonging to the town in which the school is situated or to any other town of the zilla. The second would be a class of Government scholars, *i.e.*, scholars who have highly distinguished themselves in the vernacular schools and are admitted with a certificate into the English school. For them I would suggest that Government should grant a monthly allowance of four rupees."¹

The Elphinstone Institution had, on 31st December, 1841, a total of 681 pupils on its rolls in its English Department (including 62 in its higher branch), of whom one-half (341) paid a monthly fee of Rupee one introduced in that year. In its Vernacular Department it had a total of 725 pupils—366 Marathi (256 in its Central School, 60 in Capoorwady School, and 50 in Tailor's Lane School); 315 Gujarati (170 in its Central School, 85 in Fort School, and 60 Pydhownie School), and 44 Hindustani in its Hindustani Branch.

The subjects taught in the higher branch of the English Department were mathematics, general literature, natural philosophy, chemistry, and botany; while those in the English school included grammar, reading in science and literature, history of England and geography.

¹ Report of the Board of Education, Bombay for 1840-41. pp. 16-19.

In 1840 in order to bring about harmonious relations between the Elphinstone College and its feeder, the Native Education Society's Central English School, Government

The Elphinstone Institution combined them into one institution called the Elphinstone Institution and placed it under the management and control of a newly constituted body called the Board of Education composed of a President and three members nominated by Government and there

The Board of Education by the Native Education Society. Government placed also the English Schools at Panwel,

Thana and Poona, the Poona Sanskrit College, and 92 Government Vernacular schools, which then existed in the Presidency, under the Board's control.

Side by side with the Bombay Education Society and the Bombay Native Society several European and American missionary societies also had commenced excellent pioneer work in education.

Missionary Activities The American Marathi Mission which had arrived in Bombay in 1813 had opened

in 1815 a Hindu boys' primary school, the first school conducted on western lines in the Presidency, and in 1824 the first girls' primary school.

The Church Missionary Society had also entered the field, and opened its first boys' primary school in Bombay and begun compilation of a series of moral class books in 1820. It had in 1826 opened also a girls' primary school in Bombay, and founded in 1837 the Robert Money High School. The Scottish Missionary Society had also commenced work in 1822 in the villages of Southern Konkan, and opened in 1829 a primary school for Indian girls and founded in 1832 the Wilson High School in Bombay.

In 1842, for the better administration of education, the Board of Education arranged its schools in three territorial divisions, the first consisting of the Deccan and Khandesh, the second of Northern Konkan and Gujarat, and the third of Southern Konkan and the Southern Maratha Country, and placed a European Inspector, with an Indian assistant, in charge of each division. It supplied every English and vernacular school with printed regulations relating to school management, and established in many places English and Vernacular School Committees composed of 3 or 4 persons of local influence. It

further undertook to open a vernacular school in any village-with a population of not less than 2,000, provided the people supplied a suitable house, rent-free, for its accommodation and agreed to the levy of a monthly fee of anna one on each pupil and urged upon every district the importance of having a good English school. It considered that the course of instruction pursued in English schools should be suitable for the preparatory education of those members of the community who had higher objects in view than a course of primary instruction was calculated to provide for ; who aimed at qualifying themselves for the higher offices, connected with the state for different professions as merchants, teachers, civil engineers, physicians, lawyers, etc. It considered that the English schools should represent the "secondary school" of a system of national education, analogous in position to the gymnasiums of Germany and to the grammar schools of England. Accordingly, it prescribed an entrance examination test (Vernacular Standard III), levied a higher fee, and provided free studentships for poor and deserving boys from vernacular schools. It also opened a Government English school at Surat.

In 1843, the policy of Mountstuart Elphinstone in favour of vernacular education which had been followed by the Board was changed at the instance of Sir Erskine Perry who held the

"downward filtration" theory of giving higher
education to a few and depending on the influence
of the educated few to filter down to the
mass of the population. He held that as it

was impossible to convey to the bulk of the people more than the rudiments of knowledge, instruction should be conveyed to them in their vernacular tongues ; but as those vernacular tongues contained no literature in which the exact knowledge derivable from European education could be obtained, the only mode open for improving that literature and for carrying out the scope and end for all Government endeavours, *viz.*, the high employment of natives, was to give to the upper classes, and to such as were peculiarly gifted, the best English education within their power.

The Board in its Report for 1845 stated : "We consider that in order to make a permanent deep impression on the Asiatic mind, and in order to fit it for the reception of the results of western

Downward
Filtration
Theory

civilisation, we must apply our chief endeavours to the cultivation of the higher branches of learning and of the superior orders of minds. The growth of opinions in nations appears to be exactly analogous to what takes place in small circles : in these as in the former the majority have no opinions of their own, they take them from the original mind, from the man who thinks for himself, the man whom they look up to and respect in each caste or coterie. We think it by no means utopian to suppose that it is possible to train in our higher institutions a number of young men altogether equal to ourselves in acquired information. But to achieve this there must be the same facility available to them, as to youths educated in Europe, to carry on their studies after they leave school, and to keep pace with the accumulating knowledge of the day. That is to say, they must be made perfectly familiar with the English tongue, in which alone they will be able to obtain that supply for their intellectual craving which will be of any service to themselves or to others. To make our vernacular schools really effective, we conceive that it is indispensable, and also that it is possible, to place at the head of them a set of men trained as is indicated in the last paragraph, and who shall be in reality superior to the rest of their countrymen. Accordingly, the Board arrived at the following conclusions. First, the necessity of beginning from above downwards, when the attempt is made by a western nation to introduce their own systems of education, and their own habits of thought, amongst a people whose type and character of civilisation have been so wholly different ; and secondly, the adoption of the language of the governing nation as the only effective medium by which such ideas can in the first instance be conveyed.”

As regards vernacular schoolmasters, the Board found that they were, with scarcely any exception, most incompetent. “From the time of their leaving the school where they were formed, they never make any attempt to add to their information, they soon get hardened in a ceaseless monotonous routine, they inspire no respect in the village where they are located, and have no moral influence over the boys they teach.” It therefore came to the conclusion that “by training up men specially for the task of education, by instilling into their minds those positive and exact, notions by which European science is so eminently distinguished over Asiatic learning, by attributing

much higher salaries than are at present given to the office of schoolmaster, and by giving those little marks of social distinction, which Orientals, perhaps more than the rest of the world, so much appreciate, a race of schoolmasters might be found who would carry into every village where they were placed the seed of civilisation and improvement." "If a class of schoolmasters with such qualifications is sent abroad, on salaries with Rs. 20 as a minimum and Rs. 100 as a maximum, with a prospect of rising to superintendencies at Rs. 200 and professorships at Rs. 300." Sir Erskine Perry, the President of the Board, felt certain that they would, at once, secure the respect of the community, and place the vernacular education of the Presidency on a very different level to that on which it stood. (Report for 1847-48, pp. 71-73).

Sir Erskine Perry and two other European members of the Board held that the superior branches of education and the information of modern times could be conveyed to the natives

only through the medium of English, and that
Controversy vernacular education could be most effectually
on Medium of promoted by improvements wrought upon the
Instruction upper classes of society. Col. Jervis, who

had organised the first Civil Engineering Class in Bombay and conducted all its teaching through the local Indian languages held, on the other hand, that even higher education could be given through the medium of vernacular languages, and that in proportion as education was confined to the channel of the English language, its benefit would be restricted to "a number of scribes and inferior agents for public and private office and a few enlightened individuals isolated by their very superiority from their fellow countrymen.... I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the vernacular dialects, and to use every endeavour to free them from the swaddling bands in which they have been hitherto confined. Aided by their cognate classical dialects (Sanskrit, etc.) they would be capable of a copiousness of expression, now unknown to them....and they would attain to a vigorous maturity, in which the highest powers of language to embody every operation of the mind, from the simplest to the most subtle, would be developed."¹ Messrs.

¹ "Selections from Education Records," Part II, p. 12.

Juggannath Sunkarsheth, Framji Cowasjee, and Mohammad Ibrahim Muckba, the Indian members of the Board, agreed with Col. Jervis, and held that the vernacular languages possessed advantages, superior to English, as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the people. It could not be denied that they would have less difficulty in understanding whatever was communicated to them in their own language than in a foreign tongue. It was impossible to teach the great mass of the people a language, such as English, so widely different from their own. If the object was to diffuse knowledge and improve the minds of the people of India, it was their opinion that it must be done by imparting that knowledge to them in their own language.

In 1845, the Board of Education opened a normal class in the Elphinstone Institution for 40 primary teachers (15 Marathi, 15 Gujarati, and 10 Kanarese), and offered a three years' course of training. The subjects of the course were English, vernacular reading and grammar, history, natural philosophy, geometry and trigonometry, and the art of teaching.

In the same year, the Board opened an English school at Ratnagiri and raised the Medical Class opened in Bombay in 1825-26 to the status of a college and named it Grant Medical College after Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay in the years 1835-1836, with the object of "imparting through a scientific system the benefits of medical instruction to the natives of Western India."

In 1846, the Board appointed a committee for the preparation of vernacular and English text-books, and opened an English school at Ahmedabad.

In 1848, it opened an English school at Dharwar, and in 1849 at Broach.

In 1851, the Poona Sanskrit College was amalgamated with the Poona English School and developed into the Poona College. It included a normal department for the training of students in the art of teaching to fit them to be schoolmasters. In the same year, a vernacular college was opened at Poona, and an English school at Kolhapur.

In 1852, a normal class for the training of Gujarati teachers was started in the English school at Surat, and an English school was opened at Satara.

In the same year, with the retirement of Sir Erskine Perry

and an increase in Government grant, the Board reverted to its policy in favour of primary education, undertook to open a school in any village in the Presidency, if the village people, on their part, agreed to defray half the master's pay and to supply a school room and class books.

In 1853, English schools were opened at Rajkot and Dhulia.

In 1854, an Engineering Class and Mechanical School was opened at Poona and an English school at Sholapur.

In 1855, the Board's activities came to an end with the creation of the Department of Public Instruction in accordance with the directions contained in Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. Since that year, educational administration has begun to run on the present, more or less uniform lines, all over the country.

As in Madras and Bombay, so in Bengal, as soon as the foundations of British Rule were laid, British administrators

Bengal felt the need of introducing education among the people as a means of reconciling them to the change of Government and of meeting the practical needs of the administration.

At the beginning of its rule, the East India Company applied English law to Indian cases. In 1780, however, at the instance of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, Parlia-

ment ordered that in cases relating to social Calcutta and religious matters, Hindu law was to be Madrasa applied as against a Hindu, and Mahomedan law as against a Mahomedan. To help English judges in deciding cases accordingly, *pundits* and *moulvis* learned in Hindu and Mahomedan law were needed. To meet this need, Warren Hastings founded, in 1781, a College at Calcutta called the Calcutta Madrasa. It was designed "to conciliate the Mahomedans of Calcutta" as well as "to qualify the sons of Mahomedans gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, and to produce competent officers for the Courts of Justice to which students of the Madrasa on the production of certificates of qualification were to be drafted as vacancies occurred."¹

The course of studies in the Madrasa included natural philosophy, theology, law, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, oratory, and grammar—all on Islamic lines.

¹ Howell, *Education in British India*, p. 1.

As regards the students' acquirements, William Hunter in *Indian Mussalmans* observed :

"At the end of seven years' study in the Calcutta Madrasa, the students know certain books by heart, text, and interpretation ; but if they get a simple manuscript beyond their narrow curriculum, they are in a moment beyond their depth. Such a teaching, it may well be supposed, produces an intolerant contempt for anything which they have not learned. The very nothingness of their acquirements makes them the more conceited. They know as an absolute truth that the Arabic grammar, law, rhetoric, and logic, comprise all that is worth knowing upon earth. They have learned that the most extensive kingdoms in the world are, first Arabia, then England, France, and Russia, and the largest town, next to Mecca, Medina, and Cairo, is London."

In 1787, a society was formed in Calcutta for the purpose of providing the means of education for European children, orphans, and others, not objects of care of the Military Orphan Society. The funds for the purpose were to be raised by a rateable contribution from the civil servants of the Company and such other contributions as might be procurable ; the plan of education was to be that usually followed in free schools ; and the children were to be recommended by the subscribers. By way of encouragement to the Society, the Company's surgeons were ordered to attend the school, whenever it might be necessary, gratuitously, and to furnish such medicines as might be required gratis, from the Company's dispensary. Further, Government gave the school a grant of Rs. 60 per mensem "for the purpose of employing *moonshees* capable of teaching the native languages to the children."¹

In 1788, Mr. John Owen, Chaplain to the Bengal Presidency, addressed a memorial signed by all the chaplains then stationed

First demand at Calcutta to the Government, urging that
for the teaching "schools should be established in proper situa
of English tions for the purpose of teaching our language
to the natives of these provinces," so that
"the beneficence of Great Britain would acquire a more glorious
empire over a benighted people than conquest has ever yet
bestowed."²

¹ *Indian Musselman*, 2nd edition, pp. 204-7.

² R. W. Frazer, *British India*, p. 384.

In 1791, Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares (afterwards Governor of Bombay), established the Benares Sanskrit College "for the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature, and religion of that nation, at this centre of Benares Sanskrit College their faith and the common resort of all their tribes." It was designed "to accomplish the same purpose¹ for the Hindus as the Madrasa for the Mahomedans, and specially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European Judges." The course of studies adopted at the Sanskrit College included theology, medicine, music, grammar and prosody, logic, ethics, philosophy and metaphysics, law and history, mathematics, and poetry.

The discipline of the Benares Sanskrit College was to be "conformable in all respects to the Dharma Shastra in the chapter on Education." The Scholars were to be examined four times a year in the presence of the Resident, "in all such parts of knowledge as are not held too sacred to be discussed in the presence of any but Brahmins."

In 1792-93, when the question arose of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, Wilberforce, the well known philanthropist,² at the instance of Charles Grant who was then one of the Directors of the Company and had served the Company before as one of its Factors in India, carried the following resolution in the House of Commons :

"That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India ; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted

¹ "Endearing our Government to the native Hindoos,"—Letter from Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares, No. 17, dated the 1st January 1892, to the Earl of Cornwallis, Governor-General in Council (Selections from Educational Records, Part I, p. 10).

² At this time, philanthropists in England, both in and out of Parliament were making out a strong case in favour of schools for the people. They were urged to do so by the social conditions brought about by the industrial revolution. The Factory System had tended to bring large masses of people into small areas and in these crowded places the most appalling social conditions prevailed, specially among the child population. One remedy, at least for the evil of parental neglect, was obviously the provision of schools.

as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement.”¹

He also proposed to introduce into the bill for the renewal of the Company’s Charter a specific clause for sending out missionaries and school masters from England, and moved : “that the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons, who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as school masters, missionaries, or otherwise.”²

But the opposite party urged : “that the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people, and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed.”³ One of the Directors even observed that they had just lost America from their folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for them to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India. If the natives required anything in the way of education, they must go to England for it.⁴ Government was, therefore, unable to press Wilberforce’s proposition. Hence, the resolution remained inoperative.

In 1797, Charles Grant submitted his “Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain,

Grant’s
“Observation”
and advocacy
of the teaching
of the English
language

particularly with respect to morals ; and on
the means of improving it” to the Directors
of the East India Company as “a tract
which bears on a subject pressed by repeated
proposals on your attention, *viz.*, the commu-
nication of Christianity to the natives of our

possessions in the East.” In this, he described what he considered to be the low moral condition of the people of this country and exhorted the Company to endeavour to ameliorate it by arranging to impart to them a knowledge of the English language as “a key which will open to them a world of new ideas.” He

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Part I. p. 17.

² Richter, *History of Missions in India*, p. 153.

³ Selections from Educational Records. Part II, p. 17.

⁴ Marshman’s Evidence before the Lords’ Committee, 1853, (Lords’ Second Report, 1853).

observed : "The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant : and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them would prove the best remedy for their disorders..."

"There are two ways of making this communication : the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries ; the other is, by the medium of our own..."

"It is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees to impart to the Hindoos our language ; afterwards, through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions upon a variety of subjects ; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, *progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy, and religion..."

"The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language ; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands.

"To introduce the language of the conquerors seems to be an obvious means of assimilating the conquered people to them. The Mahomedans, from the beginning of their power, employed the Persian language in the affairs of Government and in public departments. This practice aided them in maintaining their superiority and enabled them, instead of depending blindly on native agents, to look into the conduct and details of public business, as well as to keep intelligible registers of the income and expenditure of the State. Natives readily learnt the language of Government, finding that it was necessary in every concern of revenue and of justice ; they next became teachers of it ; and in all the provinces over which the Mogul Empire extended, it is still understood and taught by numbers of Hindoos.

"It would have been to our interests to have followed their example ; and had we done so on the assumption of the Dewanee, or some years afterwards, the English language would now have been spoken and studied by multitudes of Hindoos throughout our provinces..."

"It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of the provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English ; multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them ; and the

easy books used in teaching might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects...

"The Hindoos would, in time, become teachers of English themselves ; and the employment of our language in public business... would, in course of another generation, make it general throughout the country..."

"But, undoubtedly, the most important communication which the Hindoos could receive, through the medium of our language, would be the knowledge of our religion..."

"This subject has not hitherto received a normal consideration ; but the objection which would resist all improvement, lest future inconvenience should arise from it, necessarily brings on this decisive question, whether we shall, in all times to come, passively leave our subjects in the darkness, error, and moral turpitude in which they now grovel...whether we shall *keep* our subjects in their present state...whether we shall make it our study to impart to them knowledge, light, and happiness ; or under the notion of holding them more quietly in subjection ; shall seek to keep them ignorant, corrupt, and mutually injurious, as they are now ?

"The path of duty is open, the time present is ours. By planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion, in our Asiatic territories, we shall put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies ; we shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of those territories to this country ; but, at any rate, we shall have done an act of strict duty to them, and lasting service to mankind."¹

Thus was raised the question of teaching English and of conveying through it western knowledge to the people of this country, though from a point of view altogether different from that of the Bengal Presidency chaplains quoted above.

The East India Company did not pay much attention to Grant's "Observations," as its charter had already been renewed by Parliament. In those days, even in England, education of the people was not regarded as a duty of the Government. A bill for Parochial Schools (for two years' free schooling to poor

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company Vol, I, Appendix 1, Public, dated 16th August 1832 pp. 82-87.

children between 7 and 14 years of age in reading, writing and arithmetic, and, for girls, in needle work, knitting, etc., in addition), introduced in Parliament in 1807, was rejected as it was considered "monstrous to tax the occupiers of lands and houses in order that all the children of the country should be taught to read and write."

The Company was a trading rather than a ruling body. It therefore thought that if England could get on without a state organization for education, there could be little reason why India should not.

To Grant's idea of propagating Christianity through the teaching of English, the Company was not agreeable. Since the assumption of the Dewanee of Bengal in 1765, it had begun to realise the advisability of abstaining from doing anything in support of missionary attempts at proselytisation that was calculated to arouse suspicion about its motives among the people and provoke their opposition to its rule.

In 1804, when a public discussion was proposed to be held at the College of Fort William¹, "on the advantages which the natives of India might derive from translations in the vernacular tongues of the books containing the principles of their respective religions and those of the Christian faith", a number of respectable Mahomedans addressed a remonstrance against it to Lord Wellesley under the belief that the discussion would involve topics offensive to their religious prejudices. Thereupon, Lord Wellesley cancelled the discussion and issued a circular, declaring that "the discussion of any subject connected with religion or which was degrading to the religion of India was quite foreign to the principles of the institution of the College.²

After the Vellore Mutiny in 1806, it clearly indicated its attitude to missionary activities in the following terms :

"When we afforded our countenance and sanction to the missionaries who have from time to time proceeded to India for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion, it was

¹ Which persons appointed to the Civil Service in India were on their arrival required, as an indispensable preliminary to their employment, to attend for the study of the Indian languages.

² Malcolm, *Political History of India*, Vol. II. p. 270 (Select committee's Report, App. I, Public, p. 22).

far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make ; for, on the contrary, we were perfectly aware that the progress of real conversion would be gradual and slow, arising more from a conviction of the purity of the principles of our religion itself, and from the pious example of its teachers, than from any undue influence or from the exertions of authority which are never to be resorted to in such cases."¹

Policy of Religious Neutrality in Education

In 1808, again, when consternation was caused in the native population by the addresses to Hindus and Mahomedans by Carey,² Marshman, and Ward of the Baptist Missionary Society (which had been founded at Kettering in England in 1792) in the Danish Settlement at Serampore (near Calcutta), the Court of Directors reaffirmed the above principle of strict religious neutrality and refused to support any attempt to propagate the Christian religion.

Next to Charles Grant, in calling attention of the Company to the need of providing means for the education of the people of the country though from an altogether different, liberal, administrative, and non-missionary point of view, was Lord Minto, Governor-General of India. In 1811, in his minute on the subject, he observed :

Lord Minto's Minute

"It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many

¹ Quoted from Secret Despatch No. 3, from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, of September 7th, 1808, with the permission of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

² He established a church at Serampore and a printing press from which extracts from the *Bible* in nearly forty languages were issued.

valuable books ; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

"The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement always operates as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support. The justness of these observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and present state of science and literature at three principal seats of Hindu learning, viz., Benares, Tirhut, and Nudia. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed, not only by princes and others in power and authority, but also by zemindars, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. It would equally bring to our view the present neglected state of learning at those once celebrated places ; and we should have to remark with regret that the cultivation of letters was now confined to the few surviving persons who had been patronized by the native princes and others under the former Government ; or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of science from their parents.

"It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindus, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature."¹

In conclusion, he recommended improvements in the Hindu College at Benares and the Mahomedan Madrasa at Calcutta and the establishment of new Hindu Colleges at Nudia and Tirhut and new Mahomedan colleges at Bhagalpore, Jaunpore, and some places in the ceded and conquered provinces.

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company. Appendix I, Public, dated 16th August 1832, pp. 325-27.

The honour of being the first to recommend extension of Government patronage to the promotion of education in India goes thus to Lord Minto. Warren Hastings who established the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781 and Jonathan Duncan who founded the Benares Sanskrit College in 1791 had Government purposes in view, *viz.*, to conciliate the people to the new British East India Company's regime and to provide competent expounders of Indian Law for the Company's law courts. Lord Minto, on the other hand, had higher purposes in view, *viz.*, to extend the fostering care of Government to the literature of the Hindus and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature. It is probable that he was influenced in his views on the subject by Colebrooke, the distinguished Sanskrit scholar, who was then a member of his Government. This representation is believed to have produced great effect.

In 1813, when the Company's Charter came again for renewal, Wilberforce and Charles Grant, who were then both members of Parliament, were able to get the following clause inserted in the East India Company's Charter of that year :

"That it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement. That, in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs. Provided always, that the authority of the Local Governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.

"And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum

of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India ; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other part of the British territories in India, in virtue of the Act, shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council ; subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries : Provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated.”¹

The design of the philanthropists in getting this Education clause inserted in the Charter Act of 1813 was clearly expressed by Wilberforce during the debate on the clause in the House of Commons as follows :

“After much reflection I do not hesitate to declare, that from enlightening and informing them, in other words, from education and instruction, from the diffusion of knowledge, from the progress of science, and more especially from all these, combined with the circulation of the Scriptures in the native languages, I ultimately expect even more than from the direct labour of missionaries properly so called.”

In November, 1813, soon after the renewal of the Charter, the Court of Directors of the Company also wrote as follows to the Government of Bengal :

“In order to show our desire to encourage, by every prudent means in our power, the extension of the principles of the Christian religion in India, we have unanimously resolved that an addition be made to the present clerical establishment maintained by the Company at each of our Presidencies at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, of one Minister of the Church of Scotland, with the

¹ Acts relating to India. Vol. I, p. 1138.

same salary as is granted to the junior chaplain at each of the presidencies.”¹

The one lac grant is a great landmark in the history of education, since it is the first recognition by the British Parliament of the principle that education of the people is one of the duties of the state. In England, this principle was not recognised till 1833. It was only in that year that the first Parliamentary grant of £20,000 was sanctioned for education in that country.

In 1814, the Court of Directors of the East India Company issued their first Education Despatch, and therein observed :

“The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration : first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature : secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country. Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our Universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college ; and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration.

“We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established among them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances, by grants of pecuniary assistance.

...

“The mode² of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest

¹ Extract from Public Letter to the Bengal Government, dated 12th November, 1813 (Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, dated 16th August 1832, p. 753).

² The Monitorial System.

tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly Chaplain at Madras, and it has now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction...

"We are informed that there are in Sanskrit language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the Judicial Department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit, we are told, on the virtues of plants and drugs and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on astronomy and mathematics, including geometry and algebra, which though they may not add new light to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.

"With a view to these several objects, we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed for this purpose may be selected from those amongst the natives who have made some proficiency in the sciences in question, and that their recompense should be liberal."¹

Thus, the Company proposed to do little beyond (i) leaving the learned natives of India to their old-time methods of instruction and encouraging them in their literary pursuits and (ii) encouraging its own officers to study Sanskrit with a view to improving the efficiency of its administration. It proposed to do little more than continue the policy, initiated by Warren Hastings, of giving encouragement to oriental learning.

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public 16th August, 1832, pp. 329-31.

Before the receipt of the Directors' Despatch, however, educational work on broader lines had already been commenced

in Bengal by a missionary named Robert May.

May's School

in Bengal

In July, 1814, he had opened a vernacular school with 16 boys in the Dutch settlement at Chinsura to teach reading, writing, arithmetic on the Lancastrian plan. The school had becomes so popular that in less than three months its attendance had risen to 92, and in less than six months May was compelled to open a branch school at a short distance from Chinsura to meet the growing demand for instruction.

The subject of education was engaging serious attention of high Government officers also at this time.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, in his report on the revenue of the territory of Delhi dated the 4th September, 1815, had expressed

his views on education as follows : "Objec-

Sir Charles

Metcalfe

on Education

tions have been urged against our attempting to promote education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections ! The world is governed by an irresistible power which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of man against the operations of its Almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages whatever may be the revolutions of futurity ; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion, we shall merit that reverse which time has possible in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, hisses and execrations of mankind. These remarks are offered in reply to objections which may be, and have been, urged against our conferring on our Indian subjects the blessings of independence and education. My own opinion is that the more blessings we confer on them, the better hold we shall have on their affections and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our empire. It is for the wisdom of Government to decide whether this expectation is visionary or founded on reason" ¹

¹ Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar*, pp. 297-98..

Lord Moira, who later became Lord Hastings, held that public money would be ill-appropriated in merely providing gratuitous access to that quantum of education (in reading,

Lords Moira's writing, and arithmetic) which was already available and that, therefore, any intervention by Government either by superintendence or by contribution should be directed to the improvement of existing tuition and to the diffusion of it to places and persons then out of its reach. He observed :

"The general, the sad defect of this education is that the inculcation of moral principles forms no part of it.... The village school masters could not teach that in which they had themselves never been instructed

"The immediate encouragement of the superior description of science by any bounty to the existing native colleges appears to me a project altogether delusive. I do not believe that in these retreats there remain any embers capable of being fanned into life. It is true, the form of tuition is kept up in them, but the ceremony is gone through by men who are (as far as I could learn) devoid of comprehension in the very branches which they profess to teach...

"Consequently to this opinion, I must think that the sum set apart by the Honourable Court for the advancement of science among the natives would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of schools than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree...

"In the infancy of the British administration in this country, it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice. Not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity, but that coarse, though useful, virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows.

"The lapse of half a century and the operation of that principle have produced a new state of society which calls for a more enlarged and liberal policy. The moral duties require encouragement and experiment. The arts which adorn and embellish life will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name that this beneficial revolution should rise under

British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble : May we till it worthily !”¹

He emphasised : “This Government never will be influenced by the erroneous position that to spread information among men is to render them less tractable and less submissive to authority. It would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude.”²

Lord Moira’s minute marked the beginning of a great change that was coming over the earlier Government policy in education.

After receipt of the despatch from the Court of Directors, Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, to whom May’s schools had been suggested by one of the local judicial officers who had been consulted on the subject as the basis for a plan for the more general instruction of the natives throughout the country, called for detailed information regarding them from the British Commissioner at Chinsura. On being informed that at the 16 schools which had been established by May between July, 1814, and June 1815, there was an average attendance of 951 pupils and that the average monthly expense of a circle of 20 such schools would be about Rs. 330, exclusive of buildings and outfit. Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 600 (soon afterwards raised to Rs. 800) per month for the purpose of establishing schools on May’s plan, and entrusted their management to May and his teachers under the superintendence of the Commissioner.

In 1817, a society called the Calcutta School Book Society was formed with a view to the promotion of the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives by the diffusion among them of useful elementary knowledge, excluding from its plan all means calculated to excite religious controversy. Government approved of the plan and object of the Society and gave it an annual grant of Rs. 6,000 in 1821.

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Part I, pp. 24-29.

² Marshman, *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 357.

In 1819, another society called the Calcutta School Society was formed for the purpose of establishing native schools, first in Calcutta and its vicinity and then throughout the country,

Calcutta School Society to the utmost extent of its resources. A minute inquiry it instituted showed that in 1821 there were, in Calcutta city, 211 elementary schools (with 4,908 pupils), 115 of which it supervised and examined and to 3828 of whose pupils it supplied books. To this society, also, Government sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 6,000 in the year 1823.

Side by side with these activities for vernacular education had begun movements in favour of English education, the need for which had already come to be realised by advanced

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Hindu College at Calcutta sections of the people. In 1816, at the instance of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a bold, enlightened, and far-sighted Hindu leader, and with the active support of Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Bengal, and

David Hare, a private English resident of Calcutta (a watchmaker), some of the opulent natives of Calcutta had formed themselves into an association for founding a seminary in which the sons of Hindus might receive tuition not only in Asiatic languages and sciences but also in those of Europe, and particularly in the language and literature of England. For that purpose, a sum of Rs. 1,13,179 had been subscribed and a Hindu College called the Vidyalaya had been opened in the beginning of the year 1817. Rev. Dr. Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, had also opened a missionary college, now called the Bishop's College, at Calcutta in 1818 to train young Indian Christians as preachers and teachers and to impart a knowledge of the English language to Mahomedans and Hindus.

In 1821, the scheme for the Hindu Colleges at Nudia and Tirhut, proposed by Lord Minto and sanctioned by the Court of Directors was abandoned and, instead, a scheme for the foundation of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta, similar to the Hindu College at Benares, was sanctioned. Although the immediate object of this institution was the cultivation of Hindu literature, it was intended "to seek every practicable means of effecting the gradual diffusion of European knowledge."¹

¹ Selection from Educational Records, Part, I, p. 79.

It was not, however, till the year 1823 that the grant of one lakh of rupees was appropriated to its proper purpose. In that year, the Governor-General appointed a General Committee

General Committee of Public Instruction

of Public Instruction "for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education under the Presidency of Fort William and of considering, and from time to time submitting to Government, the suggestions of such measures as may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character." The Committee was composed of 10 members including Dr. H. H. Wilson, a great Sanskrit scholar, as its General Secretary. The grant of one lakh was placed at the Committee's disposal and the Government colleges at Calcutta and the schools at Chinsura and elsewhere were transferred to its control.

The Government instructions to the Committee included one to complete the arrangements for the construction of the proposed Hindu College and the new Madrassa at Calcutta and in determining finally on the plans of those edifices, "to advert fully to any change in their form and distribution which may be required by the change contemplated in the studies and discipline of the institutions, under the resolution of Government, to introduce European science as far as practicable."¹

This instruction indicates how the aim of Government in education had been gradually changing from cultivation of oriental learning to conveyance of western knowledge.

Against the establishment of the Sanskrit College at Calcutta by the Committee, Raja Ram Mohan Roy made a very vigorous protest. In a memorial to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, dated the 11th December, 1823, he observed :

"We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pundits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical

¹ Selection from Education Records, Part I, p. 56.

use to the possessors or society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India...

"As the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed ; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of *byakaran* or Sanskrit Grammar....

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the theme suggested by the Vedant : 'In what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity? What relation does it bear to the divine essence?' Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother, etc., have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world, the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of Meemangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the *Vedas*, and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of *Vedas*, etc.

"Again, the student of Nyaya Shastra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the Universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, etc.

"In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the futility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised. I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of schoolmen, which

was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction ; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences ; which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.”¹

This memorial, though it was passed on by the Governor-General to the Committee, was left unattended to, and the proposed Sanskrit College was founded. The Committee established new oriental colleges also at Agra and Delhi, proceeded with the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale, and employed an oriental scholar for translating European scientific works into Arabic.

The Court of Directors, too, in their Despatch of 18th February, 1824, regarding the measures adopted for the reform of the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College and the proposed establishment of the new Sanskrit College at Calcutta observed that the plan of both the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning, but useful learning. No doubt, in teaching useful learning to the Hindus or Mahomedans, Hindu *media* or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed and Hindu and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted, while everything which was useful in Hindu or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain ; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing, under these reservations, a system of instruction from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mis-

¹ Trevelyan C. E., *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 65-71.

chievous, and a small remainder, indeed, in which utility was in any way concerned.*

The Committee, however, defended its position by representing that the actual state of public feeling was still against any general introduction of western literature or science and that they must, therefore, go with the tide of popular prejudice.

Thus, it will be seen that although the Court of Directors in England as well as an advanced section of public opinion in Bengal had turned in favour of western learning, the General Committee of Public Instruction was still holding on to oriental learning. As regards these proceedings, Howell remarks :

"It is one of the most unintelligible facts in the history of English education in India that at the very time when the natives themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against a continuance of the prevailing orientalism, a body of English gentlemen appointed to initiate a system of education for the country was found to insist upon the retention of oriental learning to the practical exclusion of European learning."¹

In 1827, in reviewing the early proceedings of the Committee, the Court of Directors urged the Government "to keep utility in view, but not to introduce alterations more rapidly than a regard to the feelings of the natives will prescribe," and concluded their despatch with the following words : "Adverting to the daily increasing demand for the employment of natives in the business of the country and in important departments of the Government, the first object of the improved education should be to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties. It may, we trust, be expected that the intended course of education will not only produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness ; but that it will contribute to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and supply you Civil servants to whose probity, you may, with increased confidence, commit offices of trust. To this, the last and highest object of education,

* Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company Appendix I, Public, dated the 16th August, 1832, pp. 331-32.

¹ Howell's *Education in British India*, p. 18.

"we expect that a large share of your attention will be applied."¹

In 1829, the Government wrote to the Committee that it was "the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country." and that it would "omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practicable degree of encouragement to the execution of this project."²

In 1830, the Court of Directors again wrote : "There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the natives, than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employments in the civil administration of India. As the means of bringing about this most desirable object we rely chiefly on their becoming, through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilised Europe, on the general cultivation of their understandings, and specifically on their instruction in the principles of morals and general jurisprudence. We wish you to consider this as our deliberate view of the scope and ends to which all your endeavours with respect to the education of the natives should refer."³

In the same year, the Court of Directors made a similar communication of their policy to the Government of Bombay in the following terms :

"It is our anxious desire to afford to the highest classes of the natives of India the means of instruction in European science and of access to the literature of civilised Europe. The character which may be given to the classes possessed of leisure and natural influence ultimately determines that of the whole people. We are sensible, moreover, that it is our duty to afford the best equivalents in our power to these classes for the advantages

¹ Despatch of the Court of Directors dated the 5th September, 1827 (Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, dated the 16th August, 1832, pp. 334-37).

² Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 146.

³ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, dated the 16th August, 1832, p. 344.

of which the introduction of our Government has deprived them ; and for this and other reasons, of which you are well aware, we are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil Government of India than any to which natives have hitherto been eligible.”¹

To the Government of Madras, too, the Directors communicated the same views in a Despatch of the same date as follows :

“By the measures originally contemplated by your Government, no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. The improvements in education, however, which most effectively contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes : of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes, you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class. You are, moreover, acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives, qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The measures for native education which have as yet been adopted or planned at your presidency have had no tendency to produce such persons. Measures have been adopted by the Supreme Government for placing within the reach of the higher classes of natives under the Presidency of Bengal instruction in the English language and in European literature and science. These measures have been attended with a degree of success, which, considering the short time during which they have been in operation, is in the highest degree satisfactory. We are desirous that similar measures should be adopted at your presidency.”²

In 1831, the General Committee of Public Instruction

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16 th August, 1832, p. 344.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 364-65.

explained the principles which had guided its proceedings as follows :

"The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they have proposed as the end of the measures adopted or recommended by them, keeping in view the necessity of consulting the feelings and conciliating the confidence of those for whose advantage their measures were designed. The Committee has therefore continued to encourage the acquirement of the native literature of both Mohamedans and Hindus in the institutions which they found established for these purposes, as the Madrassa of Calcutta and Sanskrit College of Benares. They have also endeavoured to promote the activities of similar establishments, of which local considerations dictated the formation, as the Sanskrit College of Calcutta and the colleges of Agra and Delhi, as it is to such alone, even in the present day, that the influential and learned classes, those who are by birth-right or profession teachers and expounders of literature, law, and religion, maulvis and pundits, willingly resort....

"But whilst every reasonable encouragement is given to indigenous native education, no opportunity has been omitted by the Committee of improving its quality and adding to its value Again, the improvements effected have not been limited to a reformation in the course and scope of native study, but, whenever opportunity has favoured, new and better instruction has been grafted upon the original plan. Thus....to the Madrassa, the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, and the Agra College, also, English classes have been attached, whilst at Delhi and Benares district schools have been formed for the dissemination of the English language. In addition to the measures adopted for the diffusion of English in the provinces, the encouragement of the Vidyalaya or Hindu College of Calcutta has always been one of the chief objects of the Committee's attention. The consequence has surpassed expectation. A command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled in any schools of Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya are springing up in every direction. The moral effect has been equally remarkable, and an impatience of the restrictions of Hinduism and a disregard of its ceremonies are

openly avowed by many young men of respectable birth and talents, and entertained by many more who outwardly conform to the practices of their countrymen. Another generation will probably witness a very material alteration in the notions and feelings of the educated classes of the Hindu community of Calcutta.”¹

Thus, the Committee, too, was gradually coming to realise the great change that had been coming over the minds of the people with regard to English education. But as Mr. Trevelyan,

Controversy
between
Anglicists and
Orientalists

a member of the Committee, explained, “the progress of events was leading to the necessity of adopting a more decided course. The taste for English became more and more ‘widely disseminated.’ A loud call rose for the means

of instruction in it, and the subject was pressed on the Committee from various quarters. English books only were in any demand. Upwards of thirty-one thousand English books were sold by the School Book Society in the course of two years, while the Education Committee did not dispose of Arabic and Sanskrit volumes enough in three years to pay the expense of keeping them for two months, to say nothing of the printing expenses. Among other signs of the times, a petition was presented to the Committee by a number of young men who had been brought up at the Sanskrit College, pathetically representing that, notwithstanding the long and elaborate course of study which they had gone through, they had little prospect of bettering their condition, that the indifference with which they were generally regarded by their countrymen left them no hope of assistance from them, and that they therefore trusted that the Government which had made them what they were would not abandon them to destitution and neglect. The English classes which had been tacked on to this and other oriental colleges had entirely failed in their object. The boys had no time to go through an English, in addition to an oriental course, and the study which was secondary was naturally neglected. The translations into Arabic, also, appeared to have made as little impression upon the few who knew that language as upon the mass of the people who were entirely unacquainted with it.

¹ Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 4-9.

Under these circumstances, difference of opinion arose in the Committee : one section of it was for following out the existing system for continuing the Arabic translations, the profuse patronage of Arabic and Sanskrit works, and the printing operations, by all which means would have to be added to an already unsaleable and useless hoard.....The other section of the Committee wished to dispense with this cumbrous and expensive machinery for teaching English science through the medium of the Arabic language ; to give no bounties, in the shape of stipends to students, for the encouragement of any particular kind of learning ; to purchase or print only such Arabic and Sanskrit books as might actually be required for the use of the different colleges ; and to employ that portion of their annual income which would by these means be set free in the establishment of new seminaries for giving instruction in English and the vernacular languages at the places where such institutions were most in demand. This fundamental difference of opinion long obstructed the business of the Committee. Almost everything which came before them was more or less involved in it. The two parties were so equally balanced as to be unable to make a forward movement in any direction. A particular point might occasionally be decided by accidental majority of one or two, but as the decision was likely to be reversed the next time the subject came under consideration, this only added inconsistency to inefficiency. This state of things lasted for about three years, until both parties became convinced that the usefulness and respectability of their body would be utterly compromised by its longer continuance. The Committee had come to a dead stop, and the Government alone could set it in motion again, by giving a preponderance to one or the other of the opposite sections. The members, therefore, took the only course which remained open to them, and laid before the Government a statement of their existing position and of the grounds of the conflicting opinions held by them.”¹

Accordingly, in January, 1835, the Secretary of the Committee submitted the matter to Government in the following terms :

“On the necessity of soliciting some decisive general instructions from the Government, all the members of the Committee

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

are agreed. The *paramount* value and obligation of communicating direct instruction in English literature and science in Seminaries for higher education, endowed and supported by the Government, and the justice and expediency of modifying, though with all proper caution and regard to actual circumstances and claims, the systems of the existing Government institutions so as render such instruction a principal branch of the studies prosecuted in them are the immediate propositions advocated strongly by one portion of the Committee and disputed, though perhaps on varying grounds and in different degrees, by the other, on which it is most requisite that the sentiments of Government should be declared.....The Committee is equally divided, and it has been agreed to submit the present reference to the supreme authority and to be guided, of course, by the result.”¹

Until 1835, the Bengal Committee of Public Instruction was mainly in the hands of orientalists and the study of Sanskrit and Arabic received its special attention. “The medium of instruction,” wrote Macaulay, “was oriental, the whole scope of the instruction was oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices and to propagate old ideas.”

At this time, Macaulay was Legal Member of the Governor-General’s Council. When the reference went to Government, he minuted strongly in favour of adoption of English as the medium of instruction. He stated the question at issue as follows :

“It seems to be the opinion of some of the gentlemen who compose the Committee of Public Instruction that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed

by the British Parliament in 1813 and
Macaulay’s if that opinion be correct, a legislative act will
Minute be necessary to warrant a change.....

It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can by any art of interpretation be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied. A sum is set apart ‘for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories’. It

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Part I, pp. 104-106.

is argued, or rather taken for granted, that by literature Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanskrit literature, that they never would have given the honourable appellation of 'a learned native' to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, and the physics of Newton; but that they meant to designate by that name only such persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of *cusa* grass and all the mysteries of absorption into the deity. This does not appear to be a very satisfactory interpretation....

"The words on which the supporters of the system rely do not bear them out, and other words follow which seem to be quite decisive on the other side. This lakh of rupees is set apart not only for 'reviving literature in India,' the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also, for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories"—words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend.

"If the Council agree in my construction, no legislative act will be necessary. If they differ from me, I will propose a short act rescinding that clause of the Charter of 1813 from which the difficulty arises....

"I hold this lakh of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of promoting learning in India in any way which may be thought most advisable.... We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

"All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information and are more over so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

"What then shall that language be? One half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half

strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole-question seems to be—which language is the best worth knowing?

"I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works. I have conversed both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

"How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West..... Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East

"The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history, abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

And he summed up the discussion in the following terms : "I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813, that we are not fettered by any pledge, expressed or implied, that we are free to employ our funds as we choose, that

we ought to employ them in teaching what is better worth-knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic, that the natives are desirous to be taught English and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic, that neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have the Sanskrit or Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement, that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

"In one point, I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclator, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."¹

Macaulay subsequently explained that the General Committee, "in advocating English as the best medium of instruction had in view those classes only of the community who had means and leisure for obtaining a thorough education. When the object is merely an oriental education, it may be most easily imparted to the natives in their own language."²

Indians have always felt offended by the contemptuous manner in which Macaulay, in his minute, ridiculed oriental learning. In doing so, he ignored altogether its high intellectual and spiritual value which had already been acknowledged long before his time by great oriental scholars like Sir William Jones.

Further, in arguing as if the choice lay between teaching through Sanskrit and Arabic on one hand and through English on the other, he overlooked the claim of the spoken languages of the people, whatever they were, to serve as media of instruction, with the result, as remarked by Lord Curzon* seventy years

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Part 1, pp. 107-117.

² Murdoch, *Education in India*, p. 4.

* Lord Curzon did not, however, think that the introduction of English education in India was a mistake.

later, that ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue had shrivelled and pined. He also overlooked the great truth.... "that a national literature can only co-exist with a national language ; and that as long as knowledge is restricted to a foreign garb, it can be the property only of a few who can command leisure and opportunity for its attainment. It was obvious that a language, so difficult as English and so utterly discordant with every Indian dialect, could never become the universal medium of instruction, and that, even if it should be extensively studied, which, beyond certain narrow limits, was highly improbable, it would constitute the literature of a class—never that of the people. The means of improving the spoken dialects and fitting them to become the vehicles of sound instruction were at hand in the languages considered classical by Hindus and Mahomedans, the Sanskrit and Arabic, and through them an easy passage might be found for the infusion of European thought into vernacular expression ; but whether they were to be employed, as had previously been done in accomplishing the object, or whether it might be more expedient to attempt the literary use of the spoken languages at once, it was undeniable that the exclusive use of English was unjust to the native literary classes and was of no benefit to the bulk of the population."¹

One very unfortunate result of supersession of the classical and vernacular languages of the country by English was "development in the Indian of an inferiority complex : he ceased to trust his own art, his own literature, his own history. He began automatically to suspect and find European origins for everything worth-while in his own country. His theatre, his philosophy, his art—they were in one way or another debtors to classical Greek literature. Clive and Wellesley were the gods of the history which he was taught until forty years ago. The Indian could quote 'Lucy Gray' and The *Lay of the Last Minstrel* with utter fluency, while he has not even so much as heard of Bhavabhuti and Sudraka. When he did hear of Kalidas and his masterpiece *Sakuntala*, he did so in connection with a

¹ H. H. Wilson, *History of British India*, Vol. III., (ed. 1848), pp. 305-307.

poem written by Goethe in which he mentions both the author and his work, which fact made them go up in his estimation.”¹

A still more unfortunate result was the division of the Indian people into two castes, English-knowing and non-English-knowing, one superior and almost untouchable and the other inferior and almost untouched, a division which has persisted to this day.

On the broad question, however, as to whether Arabic and Sanskrit should be continued or whether English should be substituted for them, as the media for the conveyance of western knowledge and sciences to the Indian people, Macaulay was unquestionably right. If the people were to be saved from the intellectual stagnation which then prevailed and the intellectual deterioration which had already set in, if they were to be helped gradually to come into line with the western world with which they had recently been brought into contact, if they were to be admitted to the light of new knowledge, no other conclusion was possible. English education was an education of stimulants. If there was any period in the history of this country when such education was necessary for the awakening and healthy progress of the people, it was in Macaulay’s time when, to use Mr. Adam’s words, “a long continued acquiescence in old institutions and a long continued subjection to absolute forms and principles of government had produced and continued to perpetuate, a universal torpor of the national mind.”² The wine of western knowledge was necessary to stir it into activity.

People who saw in English education the germs of political discontent in this country severely blamed Macaulay for the part he had played in promoting it. Some even went to the extreme length of saying that it would have been a happy thing for India had Macaulay never lived.³ They, however, forgot that Macaulay had not *introduced* English education in this country : he had merely taken at the flood, the popular tide that had already set in its favour under the inspiring leadership of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and David Hare and given it definite direction.

¹ Harindranath Chottopadhyaya, *The Times of India* Divail Supplement, October 18, 1938.

² Adam’s Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar (Rev. Long’s edition), p. 260.

³ Sir Henry Craik, *Impressions of India*, p. 196.

He could not have stemmed it, even if he had tried to do so. The day had dawned, and light could not have been shut out by Government refusal to open the window.

Lovat Fraser represented the correct view on the subject when he observed : "Had we not unlocked for the peoples of India the stores of western learning, they would have forced the gates open for themselves. They would never have been content to browse for ever amid the shady and venerable groves of Sanskrit literature. The West had burst asunder the barriers they had reared against intrusion and it was to the West that they naturally turned for new light and fresh guidance. We may have forged the key which has opened the floodgates against us, but we could not well have done otherwise. Three hundred millions of people could not have been left in intellectual bondage."¹

Ramsay Muir says : "Those who advocated the use of Sanskrit and Arabic as the basis of the educational system were honestly inspired by the desire to see India working out her own intellectual salvation by the development of her own traditions. But the arguments for the use of English as the main vehicle of instruction, though stated with an exasperating cocksureness in Macaulay's famous minute, were undoubtedly overwhelming. From 1835, therefore, the people of India found themselves invited to assimilate the ideas of western civilisation through the machinery of education. In the same year the withdrawal of restrictions on the press released the most powerful forces for this end."²

Macaulay himself was not blind to the larger implications of the policy he advocated. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1833, even before he came to India, on the question of admitting Indians to high offices irrespective of their race, religion, or colour, he had said :

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet,

¹ *India under Curzon and After*, p. 188.

² *The Making of British India*, p. 279.

one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is before us : and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demands European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism ; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

The Charter Act of 1833 laid down : "And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

This provision for the employment of Indians in high offices could not be carried into effect until Indians possessed of adequate educational qualifications were available in sufficient numbers. Institutions of Oriental learning like the Calcutta Madrasa and Hindu College, Benares, could not provide such men, since English had been adopted as the language of official business. That consideration alone was enough to determine the policy

of giving higher (western) education chiefly through the English language.

Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, concurred entirely in the views expressed by Macaulay in his Minute on the subject, and issued a resolution dated the 7th

Lord William Bentinck's Resolution

March 1835, declaring it as his opinion "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India

and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education." But it was not his intention to abolish any colleges or schools of native learning while the natives appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it afforded, or to discontinue the stipends paid to the professors and students of these institutions. He, however, decidedly objected to the practice of supporting the students during the period of their education and directed that no stipend should be given to any new student entering these institution. He also directed that no portion of the funds should be spent on the printing of old works. Lastly, he directed that all the funds saved by these reforms should be employed "in imparting to the natives a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language."¹

Absence of any mention of the vernacular languages in the Government resolution led many people who were not acquainted with the course the discussion had taken to suppose that they had been altogether overlooked. In order to remove this impression the Committee of which Macaulay himself was President clearly stated in its first annual report submitted to Government after the promulgation of the resolution as follows :

"We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language which is always very improving to the mind is rendered indispensable by

¹ Selections from Educational Records Part I. p. 130.

the almost total absence of a vernacular literature and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the west, is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge before they can transfer it into their own language." These views were approved by Government and were steadily acted on by the Committee in its subsequent proceedings.

The Government decision immediately gave a decided turn to Indian education in a westerly direction, encouraging the education of a few through English and letting alone the education

of many through their own mother-tongue.
 Immediate Results Its effect, however, was not confined to the
 of English educational field. It extended widely over
 Education the social, moral, religious, and political
 field. Macaulay himself described it in his letter from Calcutta
 to his father, dated the 12th October, 1836, as follows :

"Our English schools are flourishing wonderfully. We find it difficult,—indeed, in some cases impossible,—to provide instruction for all who want it. At the single town of Hoogly fourteen hundred boys are learning English. The effect of this education on the Hindoos is prodigious. No Hindoo, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy but many profess themselves pure deist, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respected classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any efforts to proselytise ; without the smallest interference with religious liberty ; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the prospect."¹

The decision caused a great intellectual ferment, bringing about an "Indian Renaissance," an era of unprecedented social,

¹ G. O. Trevelyan, *Life of Lord Macaulay*, Vol. I. p. 464.

moral, religious and political progress. "New India was born in 1834.* It was in that year that the barrier which down all the ages had confined the civilisation of East and West to separate channels was cut through, and the vigorous thought life of young Europe was allowed to pour its eager torrents into the placid river of Indian culture. What Alexander, Asoka, and the Nestorian missionaries had failed to do was accomplished by Macaulay's educational Minute, decreeing that India was to receive through English education the science and the language of the west. . . .

"Old India was rudely jostled out of sleep. Renaissance, Reformation, Social upheaval, Industrial revolution were upon her all at once. Through the medium of English education she was plunged into the stream of Western thought and progress. The very foundations of her ancient civilisation began to rock and sway. Pillar after pillar in the edifice has come crashing down."¹

It is quite true, as remarked by the late Mr. Mardy Jones MP who visited India, that "had the dead classics of India been adopted as the educational media a century ago to cope with the science and industry of the modern world, India would probably have remained about as backward and undeveloped as China still remains."²

The decision in favour of English education was in some quarters represented as an attempt on the part of Government to undermine the religions of India gradually to convert Indians

Reaffirmation of strict religious neutrality in Education

to Christianity. In reply to this insinuation, Lord Bentinck declared : "Such motives never have influenced, never can influence, the counsels of the Government. The fundamental principle of British Rule, the compact to which the Government stands solemnly pledged, is strict neutrality. To this important maxim, policy as well as good faith, have enjoined upon me the most scrupulous observance. The same maxim is applicable to general education. In all schools and colleges supported by Government, this principle

* It is a mistake for 1835.

¹ Rev. W. E. S. Holland (Church Missionary Society), *The Goal of India*, pp. 182-83.

² *Contemporary India*, March, 1936.

cannot be too strongly enforced ; all interference and injudicious tampering with the religious belief of the students, all mingling direct or indirect teaching of Christianity with the system of instruction, ought to be positively forbidden.”¹

“The existence in India of creeds differing widely from one another and from the faith of the ruling power has made it essential for the state to assume a position of strict religious neutrality in its relations with public instruction. This principle was emphatically asserted in the Despatch of 1854 and has ever since been rigidly enforced. No religious instruction is given in Government schools ; and provided only it impart sound secular education, a private institution is equally entitled to Government aid, whether it teaches the religion of the *Bible*, the *Sastras*, or the *Koran*. ”²

It is worthy of note that at the same time that the question of Government policy in education was being submitted to Government for decision by the General Committee of Public Instruction, Government appointed Mr. Adam, formerly a missionary and then editor of a Calcutta newspaper called the *India Gazette*, to inquire into, ascertain, and report the actual state of native education in Bengal and Bihar. As a result of this inquiry, Mr. Adam found what a distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction had already, in an official note, hinted, that there were then (in 1835), in Bengal and Bihar, about 1,00,000 village schools for a total population of about 400,00,000, i.e., one village school for every 400 of the

Adam's Report
on Education
in Bengal
and Bihar

population. Taking eleven-thirtieths of the population as children under fourteen years of age and three-sevenths of these as children of school-going age, on the basis of actual figures of Prussia, he estimated that in

Bengal and Bihar there was, on an average, one village school for every sixty-three children of school-going age. If girls who formed about one half of the school population were excluded from consideration, there would be one indigenous village school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys. This estimate of 10,0000 schools in Bengal and Bihar was, he pointed out, confirmed

¹ Howell, *Education in British India*, pp. 33-35.

² *The Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol, Ch. XIII.

by a consideration of the number of villages in those two provinces. Their number had been officially estimated at 1,50,748 of which not all but most had each a school. If it were admitted that there was so large a proportion as a third of the villages that had no schools, there would still be 1,00,000 that had them. He admitted that these calculations from uncertain premises were only distant approximations to the truth, but it would still appear that the system of village school was extensively prevalent.*

Adam's estimate of 1,00,000 schools in Bengal and Bihar was rejected as 'a myth,' by the late Sir Phillip Hartog¹ who critically examined his report and the statistics it was based on (*vide* his *Some Aspects of Indian Education Past and Present*, pp. 75-91). The statistics of population and schools on which the estimate was based might not, as pointed out by Sir Philip, be sufficient and reliable enough to warrant the estimate given by Mr. Adam in figures. Mr. Adam himself admitted that his calculations were based on "uncertain premises and were only distant approximations to the truth." But this circumstance does not disprove his general conclusion that an extensive system of village schools existed in his time a hundred years ago. It cannot be summarily rejected as far from the truth by Indians who know well that in pre-British times the school-master was a necessary member of every well-organised village community and was as indispensable to it as its headman, accountant, and watchman. In a country where the school-master held such status and where a substantial portion of the population, the whole of the Brahmin community, the priestly class, regarded it as their sacred duty to impart knowledge to the people, and imparted it in their house gratis to all who sought it, education could not but be wide-spread. "When the Portuguese and Dutch landed on the Malabar coast, they found many Nair women not only literate, but acting as teachers in schools at a time when Europe had not yet even dreamed of schools for women"—(Freeda Houswirth). The Directors of the East India

* Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar pp. 18-19.

¹ Sir Philip has since been answered by Mr. R. V. Parulekar who has very carefully examined Mr. Adam's statistics and supported the latter's general conclusion about schools in Bengal in his article on 'Literacy of India in Pre-British Days' in the *Progress of Education*, July, 1940.

Company were well aware of the usage long established among the learned Hindus of giving instruction at their houses, and they referred to it, in their first Education Despatch of 1814 quoted above. The usage was so wide-spread that the Collector of Canara replied to Sir Thomas Munro's Circular of 1822 referred to above that in Canara education was conducted so much in private that "any statement of the number of private schools, and of the scholars attending them, would be of little or no use, but on the contrary, rather fallacious, in forming an estimate of the proportion of the population receiving instruction." (Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix I, Public, dated the 16th August, 1832, p. 223). Sir William Hunter, one of the earliest and best known historians of India, who knew this country far more intimately than Sir Philip, has recorded : "at no period of its history has India been without some system of popular education, independent of State organisation or aid. ... Throughout every change of dynasty, vernacular education has been given at least to children of respectable classes in each large village."¹ One of the Commissioners of the Board of Revenue, Bengal, who reported on what were known as the Hardinge Schools remarked : "There is not a village in Bengal in which the people cannot get their children Bengali and arithmetic."² Mr. Prendergast, a member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, in 1821, in one of his official minutes, observed : "I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in large villages more ; many in every town, and in large cities in every division ; where young natives are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain to perhaps a rupee per month to the school-master, according to the ability of the parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual, that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion, beyond what we meet with amongst the lower orders in our own country ; whilst the more

¹ Sir William Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, p. 50.

² Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee to the Indian Education Commission, p. 9.

splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, conciseness, and clearness, I rather think, fully equal to those of any British merchant.”¹

Sir Philip a century later found it impossible to reconcile this statement made in 1821 by a high administrative Government official who intimately knew the country as it was about the time Mr. Adam reported with a subsequent official report of 1829, which showed that there were, then, 1,705 schools with 35,153 scholars in a population of 4,681,735 in the Bombay Presidency. Sir Philip observed : “If we take an average of 400 persons per village and if there was a school in every village, there should have been for the population given 11,704 schools for 11,704 villages, instead of 1705. No diminution of the number of schools by 10,000 in eight years in Bombay could have occurred without comment. The myth of Bengal was probably also a myth in Bombay.”² The difference between the two reports is not, however, inexplicable to those who know how rapidly indigenous schools were allowed to fall into decay. In 1811, Lord Minto had lamented the failure of a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature. In 1815, Lord Moira, while acknowledging the attention given by the former Indian Governments to the important subject of public education, as evidenced by numerous grants of rent-free land and pecuniary allowances for the endowment of public seminaries and the education of particular descriptions of pupils had noted the general disregard of established institutions which marked the steps of the British Government.³ In 1822, Sir Thomas Munro had plainly remarked : “We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces ; we have investigated their resources, and endeavoured to ascertain their population : but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education.”⁴

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, 832, pp. 301-302.

² Sir Philip Hartog, *Some Aspects of Indian Education Past and Present*, p. 12.

³ Selection from Education Records, Pt. I. p. 26.

⁴ Sir Thomas Munro’s Minute, dated the 22nd June. 1822., pp. 310-350,

In 1823, in his Minute on Education, Mountstuart Elphinstone had observed : "It has been urged against our India Government that we have subverted the states of the East and shut up all the sources from which the magnificence of the country was derived and that we have not ourselves constructed a single work either of utility or splendour. It may be urged with more justice that we have dried up the fountains of native talent and that from the nature of our conquest not only all encouragement to the advancement of knowledge is withdrawn but even the actual learning of the nation is likely to be lost and the productions of former genius to be forgotten. Something should surely be done to remove this reproach."¹ In 1843, the Government of the North Western Provinces wrote to the Government of Bengal : "Every town in the provinces has its schools ; in every Pergunnah are two or more schools, even in many villages is the rude school-master to be found."² Later, in 1846, also, they wrote : "It is the standing reproach of the British Government that whilst it continually resumes the endowments of former Sovereigns, it abstains from making any, even for those purposes which it considers the most laudable."³

The difference noted and stressed by Sir Philip clearly shows to what extent and with what rapidity the old indigenous institutions decayed and disappeared between the year 1821 which practically marked the end of the native rule and the beginning of the British rule in the Bombay Presidency and the year 1829 which marked merely the beginning of preliminary exploratory inquiries into the state of education in this country. How can a statement regarding the condition of education in 1821 made from personal knowledge by a high responsible officer of Government be disproved by admittedly incomplete figures relating to the state of education in 1829 "based on the returns of collectors less careful and less interested in education" than Mr. Pendergast, and collected by the registrar of a criminal court of justice ?

Another well-reputed British administrator, Mr. Campbell,

of the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, 1832.

¹ Elphinstone's Minute on Education, para : 46.

² Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 234.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

Collector of Bellary, Madras Presidency, who, too, knew the country more intimately than Sir Philip and reported on the subject about the same time as Mr. Prendergast in Bombay and Mr. Adam in Bengal and whose figures are accepted by Sir Philip reported in 1823 as follows :

“Imperfect, however, as the present education of the natives is, there are few who posses the means to command it for their children....

“I am sorry to state that this is ascribable to the gradual but general impoverishment of the country. The means of the classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own European manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. The removal of many of our troops from our own territories to the distant frontiers of our newly subsidised allies has also, of late years, affected the demand for grain ; the transfer of capital of the country from the native governments and their officers who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans restricted by law from employing it even temporarily in India, and daily draining it from the land, has likewise tended to this effect, which has not been alleviated by a less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State. The greater part of the middle and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring, while their necessities require the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour.

“It cannot have escaped the notice of Government that of nearly a million of souls in the district, not 7000 are now at school, a proportion which exhibits but too strongly the result above stated. In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none ; and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable, from poverty, to attend, or to pay what is demanded.

“Learning.... has never flourished in any country except under the encouragement of the ruling power, and the countenance and support once given to science in this part of India has long been withheld.

“Of the 533 institutions for education now existing in this district, I am ashamed to say, not one now derives any support from the State....

"There is no doubt that in former times, especially under the Hindoo Governments, very large grants, both in money and in land, were issued for the support of learning..... Though it did not consist with the dignity of learning to receive from her votaries hire, it has always in India been deemed the duty of Government to evince to her the highest respect and to grant to her those emoluments which she could not, consistently with her character, receive from other sources ; the grants issued by former governments, on such occasions, contained therefore no unbecoming stipulations or conditions.

"The British Government, with its distinguished liberality, has continued all grants of this kind.... But they have not, until now, intimated any intention to enforce the implied, but now dormant, condition of these grants. The revenue of the original grantee has descended without much injury to his heirs, but his talents and acquirements have not been equally hereditary ; and the descendants of the original grantees will rarely be found to possess either their learning or powers of instruction. Accordingly, considerable alienations of revenue which formerly did honour to the state, by upholding and encouraging learning, have deteriorated under our rule into the means of supporting ignorance ; whilst science deserted by the powerful aid she formerly received from government, has often been reduced to beg her scanty and uncertain meal from the chance benevolence of charitable individuals ; and it would be difficult to point out any period in the history of India when she stood more in need of the proffered aid of government to raise her from the degraded state into which she has fallen and dispel the ignorance which so unhappily pervaded the land."¹

"The education of Bengalee children," Mr. Adam reported, "generally commences when they are five or six years old and terminates in five years before the mind can be fully awakened to a sense of the advantages of knowledge or the reason sufficiently matured to acquire it.... The scholars begin with tracing the vowels and consonants with the finger on a sandboard and afterwards on the floor with a pencil of steatite or white crayon ; and this exercise is continued for eight or ten days. They are

¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Appendix I, Public, 1832, pp. 353-355.

next instructed to write on the palm leaf with a reed-pen and with ink made of charcoal which rubs out, joining vowels to consonants, forming compound letters, syllables, and words, and learning tables of numeration, money, weight, and measures, and to correct mode of writing the distinctive names of persons, castes, and places. This is continued about a year. The iron style is now used only by the teacher in sketching on the palm-leaf the letters which the scholars are required to trace with ink. They are next advanced to the study of arithmetic and the use of the plantain leaf in writing with ink made of lamp-black, which is continued about six months, during which are taught addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division and the simplest cases of the mensuration of land and commercial and agricultural accounts, together with the modes of address proper in writing letters to different persons. The last stage of this limited course of instruction is that in which the scholars are taught to write with lamp-black ink on paper, and are further instructed in agricultural and commercial accounts, and in the composition of letters. In country places the rules of arithmetic are principally applied to agricultural, and in towns to commercial accounts ; but in both town and country schools the instruction is superficial and defective.”¹

As regards the general state of ignorance he has observed, he remarked : “I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that in any other country subject to an enlightened Government and brought into direct and constant contact with European civilisation, in an equal population there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this (Rajashahi) district.”²

As the result of his inquiry, Adam’s main conclusion was : “that existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kinds and classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people ; that to employ those institutions for such a purpose would be the simplest ; the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting

¹ Adam’s Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar. (Rev. Long’s edition), pp. 19-20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

ting the exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing.”¹ He had already at the outset of his inquiry explained : “To whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing, retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations, we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure, but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised.....All schemes for the improvement of education, therefore, to be efficient and permanent, should be based upon the existing institutions of the country, transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conceptions of the people, and inspiring them with respect and veneration. To labour successfully for them we must labour *with* them ; and to labour successfully *with* them, we must get them to labour willingly and intelligently *with* us. We must make them, in short, the instruments of their own improvement ; and how can this be done but by identifying ourselves and our improvements with them and their institutions ?”²

As regards English, he observed : “It is impossible for me fully to express the confirmed conviction I have acquired of the utter impracticability of the views of those, if there are any such, who think that the English language should be the sole or chief medium of conveying knowledge to the natives.....Although *the English cannot become the universal instrument, European knowledge must be the chief matter of instructions* ; and the circumstances in which the country is placed point out the English language, not as the exclusive, but as one of the most obvious means of communicating that instruction.”³

The General Committee of Public Instruction rejected Mr. Adam’s recommendation in the following terms :

“A further experience and a more mature consideration of the subject of Education in this country has led us to adhere to the opinion formerly expressed by us that our efforts should be at first concentrated....to the improvement of education

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.

among the higher and middle classes of the population in the expectation that, through the very agency of these scholars, an educational reform will descend to the rural vernacular schools and its benefits be rapidly transfused among all those excluded in the first instance by abject want from a participation in its advantages.”¹

Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, too, rejected Mr. Adam’s plan, but communicated his report to the Government of Bombay and asked how far his scheme was in accordance with that which was pursued in the Presidency and what opinion might be formed from the result already obtained by their village schools, of the propriety of carrying out Mr. Adam’s plans in their important part.”²

The Court of Directors of the East India Company agreed with the opinion of the Government of India and intimated that when the educational needs of the higher and middle classes had been provided for, Mr. Adam’s proposals might be taken up on a liberal scale with some fairer prospect.

The position of Orientalists was considerably weakened and that of Anglicists to that extent strengthend by the dethronement of Persian as the court language in 1837 by the following

Substitution of
the Vernacular
for Persian
as the Court
Language

Government Resolution : “His Lordship in Council strongly feels it to be just and reasonable that those Judicial and Fiscal Proceedings, on which the dearest interests of the Indian people depend, should be conducted in a language which they understand. His Lordship is,

therefore, disposed to empower the Supreme Executive Government of India, and such subordinate authorities as may be thereunto appointed by the Supreme Government, to substitute the vernacular languages of the country for the Persian in legal proceedings and in proceedings relating to the Revenue.”³

The controversy between Anglicists and Orientalists did not cease, however, until Lord Auckland who succeeded Lord

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 163.

² Howell, *Education in British India*, p. 40.

Bentinck reaffirmed his decision in 1839. He adopted an attitude which pacified the feelings of both the parties.

Reaffirmation of Lord Bentinck's decision by Lord Auckland

He observed : "One mode which has been ably contended for is that of engraving European knowledge or the studies of the existing learned classes, of the Moulvees and Pundits of India. I confess that from such means I anticipate only very partial and imperfect results.

"I would, in the strictest good faith, and to the fullest extent, make good the promise of upholding, while the people resort to them, our established institutions of Oriental learning. I would make those institutions share with others in any general advantages or encouragements which we are satisfied ought to be afforded with a view to the promotion of due efficiency in study.....I would then make it my principal aim to communicate, through the means of the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands and for whose instructions our funds will admit of our providing. All our experience proves that, by such a method, a real and powerful stimulus is given to the native mind. We have seen that in Bombay, as at Calcutta, from the time at which arrangements have been made for the higher branches of instruction in English, the understandings of the students have been thoroughly interested and roused, and that the consequences have wonderfully, to use the words of the Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction, 'surpassed expectation.'"¹

In spite of this reaffirmation of Government policy, the controversy continued till it was set at rest in 1841 by the receipt of a Despatch of the Court of Directors on the subject, approving of the policy adopted by Lords Bentinck and Auckland, but forbearing "from expressing an opinion regarding the most efficient mode of communicating and disseminating European knowledge. Experience indeed does not yet warrant the adoption any exclusive system. We wish a fair trial to be given to an experiment of engraving European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes, encouraged as it will be by giving

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Part I, p. 155-157.

to the seminaries in which those studies are prosecuted, the aid of able and efficient European Superintendence.”¹

The movement was further reinforced by Lord Hardinge’s

Lord Hardinge's
Resolution regard-
ing employment
of English-
educated men
in Government
service

Resolution of 1844, enjoining that “in every possible case a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.”²

On the question of medium of instruction which was thus being hotly discussed in Bengal, Bombay had already adopted a clear-cut policy. From the very beginning of its operations, the Bombay Education Society had expressed itself clearly on the subject. In its report for 1821, it had observed : “In

Bombay View
regarding Medium
of Instruction

imparting to the natives useful knowledge to any extent and with the hope of any good and permanent effect, it is evident that the language of the country must be the *chief* and proper vehicle. The English language is almost confined to the island of Bombay, and here is principally to be found among those natives who are anxious to acquire it for the furtherance of mercantile pursuits or for facilitating their intercourse or employment with Europeans ; the great body of the people of the province have no occasion for its use, and are entirely ignorant of it. However advantageously, therefore, the English language may be taught to many at the Presidency, and to some of a higher class at the outstations, yet it is impossible to look, with any hope of success, to imparting knowledge generally and usefully in a language which must remain to the greater portion a foreign one.”

The views of Captain Candy, Superintendent of the Poona Sanskrit College, on this subject have already been quoted above.

But soon after Sir Erskine Perry became President of the

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 4, para 9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

Bombay Board of Education (1843), the policy as regards the medium of instruction changed, and more attention came to be directed to education through the English language. This change of policy gave rise to long and heated controversy among the members of the Board, necessitating reference of the point at issue to the Government of India, who decided it in terms of the policy enunciated by Lord Bentinck.

From the above, it will be seen that while the controversy in Bengal was between Anglicists and Orientalists, that in Bombay was between Anglicists and Vernacularists—between those who advocated education through English and those who advocated it through the vernaculars.

The question of medium of instruction never arose in Madras where, at the instance and under the wise guidance of Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of that Presidency, its first efforts were directed to the improvement of vernacular education and where it was not till 1841 that a High School was opened by Government as part of a scheme for a University at Madras.

It is interesting to note in connection with these controversies how gradually, as Government gained firmer and firmer footing in the country, it veered round from its original policy of giving education through oriental or vernacular languages to the policy of giving it through English—how it was guided in its educational policy from time to time by changing administrative needs of the times more than by anything else.

The Government policy as regards the medium of instruction being practically settled, steps were taken to devise efficient machinery for the conduct of educational administration. The General Committee of Public Instruction which was appointed in Bengal in 1823 had been finding it difficult to manage its business which had enormously increased since then. It was therefore replaced by a Council of Education for Bengal in 1842. For very nearly the same reason as in Bengal, the Native Education Society of Bombay was replaced by a Board of Education in 1840 ; and the Committee of Public Instruction of Madras, which had been re-constituted as Committee of Native Education in 1836 and as University Board in 1841, by a Council of Education in 1845.

In 1845, the Bengal Council of Education, at the instance of Mr. C. H. Camron, its President, proposed the establishment

of a university at Calcutta with the view of conferring upon the large and increasing number of highly educated students of public and private institutions some mark of distinction by which they might be recognised as persons of liberal education. The proposal was supported by the Government of India, but considered to be premature by the Court of Directors.

Proposal for a University at Calcutta

The year 1849 is memorable for the beginning of the movement for girls' education in this country. In May of that year, the first "Hindu Female School" was started in Calcutta by Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. The foundation stone of its present building was laid in November 1850 by Sir John Littler, then Deputy Governor of Bengal, and it was renamed "Bethune School" in 1851 after its founder who died in that year, bequeathing all his property to it. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was its first Secretary.

The year 1850 is notable in the history of education in this country as the year of recognition of the claims of girls' education by Government. In that year, Government informed

Female Education

the Bengal Council of Education that it was to consider superintendence of girls' education as one of its functions. Wherever any disposition was shown by Indians to establish girls' schools, it was its duty to give them all possible encouragement and to further their plans in every way.

In 1853, Dr. Mouat, Secretary of the Bengal Council of Education, reported the success of Mr. Thomason's plan in the North Western Provinces and recommended its adoption in Bengal and Bihar as better suited for their needs than the scheme which had been adopted by them and had totally failed. Lord Dalhousie approved of Dr. Mouat's recommendation and ordered adoption of Mr. Thomason's plan not only in Bengal, but also in the Punjab.

When Agra was separated from Bengal and formed into a new Province in 1843, Mr. Thomason, its first Lieutenant-Governor, seriously took up the question of education. He

North Western Provinces

held that to produce any perceptible impression upon the general mind of the people it was necessary to proceed through the medium of the vernacular language and not through that of

a foreign language. He therefore, adopted Mr. Adam's plan and, in 1845, issued a circular to all district officers, pointing out that it was their duty to do all in their power to promote the education of the people, advising them to use for the purpose the indigenous schools scattered over the country, to carry the people with them, and to aid their efforts rather than remove from them the stimulus to exertion by making all the efforts themselves, and instructing them, as a preliminary measure, to collect statistical information regarding the actual state of education in their respective districts on the lines adopted in Mr. Adam's Report. His plan was to attempt, (i) to improve the existing village schools by supervision, advise, encouragement, distribution of elementary books suited to their wants, and grant of occasional rewards in books, clothes, and sometimes in money to deserving teachers and pupils, and (ii) to establish new ones in villages where landholders and majority of the respectable inhabitants endowed them with not less than 5 acres of land for the school-master's maintenance. This plan was not approved by the Court of Directors. While they recognised "the necessity for giving some powerful impulse to elementary education in the North Western Provinces" and were "prepared to sanction the adoption of some more comprehensive plan of extending and improving the means of popular instruction throughout the country," they objected to the proposal for remunerating teachers by grant of land, and called for a revised scheme. Mr. Thomason, therefore, proposed the establishment of one Government school in each tahsil to serve as a model to the indigenous school-masters and the institution of an agency for visiting the village schools and assisting and advising the school-masters and rewarding the most deserving of them. This revised scheme was finally sanctioned by the Court and put into effect in 1850.

The Government village school of each tahsildari was to be conducted by a school-master receiving from Government a salary of from Rs. 20 p. m., besides such fees as he might collect from his scholars. It was to teach reading and writing, both Urdu and Hindi, accounts, and the mensuration of land according to the Indian system, and to give, in addition, such instruction in geography, history, geometry, or other general subjects, through their own local language, as the people might be willing.

to receive. Care was to be taken to prevent the Government schools from becoming rivals of the indigenous schools by making their terms of admission higher than were usually demanded in indigenous schools and by allowing free admission only on recommendation of village school-masters who might be on the visitors' lists.¹

The revision of the Company's Charter in 1853 and the Parliamentary enquiry held for the purpose led to definite acceptance of education of the Indian people as the duty of the Indian

Government and to the issue of an Education
India Despatch by Sir Charles Wood (afterwards

Lord Halifax), President of the Board of Control of the Company, setting forth, to use Lord Dalhousie's words, "a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Supreme Government or any Local Government could ever have ventured to suggest." It covered the whole field of education primary, secondary, and university, and gave definite indication of the lines on which Government and private agencies could co-operate in extending and developing it.²

"Up to the time of its issue, the efforts of the Government in the cause of education had been marked neither by consistency of direction, nor by any breadth of aim. The annual expenditure on Public Instruction had been insignificant and uncertain, and the control of its operations had not been deemed worthy the attention of any special department of the State."³

When the despatch of 1854 was received, there were no universities and no educational departments in this country ; there were only Government colleges for general education ; elementary vernacular education had only been introduced with some degree of success in the North Western Provinces and Bombay ; there were no Grant-in-aid Rules ; the total number of pupils in all the Government colleges and higher and lower

¹ Selection from Educational Records, Pt. II, p. 250.

² It is believed that it was drafted by John Stuart Mill, the great English philosopher who was then in the employ of the East India Company, with the help of Macaulay, Marshman, Duff, and other advisers.

³ Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Indian Education Commission dated the 3rd February, 1882 (Report of the Indian Education Commission, pp. 623 and ii.).

schools together in Bengal was 13,822 ; in the North Western Provinces 8,508 ; in Madras 3,380 ; and in Bombay about 14,400 ; there were no normal schools. Female education had not been attempted by the State at all, and the total annual grants for education in all India was £98,721 (Howell's Note).

In the Despatch, the Court of Directors declared : that it appeared to them that the time, when by an Act of the Imperial Legislature the responsible trust of the Government of

India had again been placed in their hands, Wood's Despatch was peculiarly suitable for the review of the progress which had already been made, the supply of existing deficiencies, and the adoption of such improvements as might be best calculated to secure the ultimate benefit of the people committed to their charges ;

that no subject could have a stronger claim to their attention than that of education ; that it was one of their most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in them lay, of conferring upon the people of India those vast moral and material blessings which flowed from the general diffusion of useful knowledge ;

that they had moreover always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partook of its advantages, and so to supply them with servants to whose probity they might with increased confidence commit offices of trust ;

that while the character of England was deeply concerned in the success of their efforts for the promotion of education, her material interests were not altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India ; this knowledge would teach the people of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate the people of England in the development of the vast resources of their country, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce, and, at the same time, secure to the people of England a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for their manufactures as well as an inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour ;

that the education which they desired to see widely extended

through all classes of people in India was that which had for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy,

Aim of Education and literature of Europe, in short, of European knowledge of less high order, but of such a character as might be practically useful to them in their different spheres of life ; that oriental learning, though good for historical and antiquarian purposes, for the study of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, and for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages, could not be considered as a very adequate foundation for any general scheme of education ;

that it was neither their aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the languages of the country, that they had always been most sensible of the importance of the languages.

Place of Indian Languages in Education which alone were understood by the great mass of the population, that, therefore, in any general system of education the study of them should be assiduously attended to and that any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which was to be communicated to the great mass of the people could only be conveyed to them through one or other of the Indian languages ;

that the English language should be taught wherever there was a demand for it, but that such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the language of the district and with such general instruction as could be conveyed through that language ;

that while the English language continued to be used as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who had acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general

Medium of Instruction instruction *through* it, the Indian languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who were ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English, that they looked to the English language and to the Indian languages together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge and that it was their desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India ;

that to place the superintendence and direction of education

on a more systematic footing, they had decided to create an Educational Department in each province, and they, accordingly,

Creation of
Educational
Departments

directed the appointment in each province of an officer specially charged with the management of the business connected with education and immediately responsible to Government for

its conduct and also of a sufficient number of inspectors to report periodically on the schools and colleges maintained or aided by Government, to conduct or assist at the examination of their students, and generally, by their advice, to aid the managers and school-masters in conducting colleges and schools of every description throughout the country ;

that they had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for the establishment of universities, which might encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring

Establishment
of
Universities

academical degrees as evidence of attainments in the different branches of literature, art, and science, and by adding marks of honour for those who might desire to compete for honorary

distinction. They therefore recommended their establishment at Calcutta and Bombay (and even at Madras or in any other part of India where a sufficient number of institutions existed "from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied"), on the model of the London University ; advising (i) exclusion of subjects connected with religious belief from their examination for degrees ; (ii) affiliation of institutions conducted by all the different religious bodies, Christian, Hindu, Mahomedan, and others, on equal terms ; (iii) institution of University professorships in such subjects as the modern Indian languages and Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, for the advanced study of which facilities did not exist in other institutions; (iv) periodical inspection of affiliated institutions with a view to promoting among them a spirit of honourable rivalry tending to preserve their efficiency, (v) and provision for a careful cultivation of the Indian languages in the anglo-vernacular colleges and for sufficient instruction in the English and modern Indian languages in the Oriental Colleges, so as to render the studies of each most available for that general diffusion of European knowledge which was the main object of education in the country. These universities were to be instituted, "not so much to be in

themselves places of instruction as to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere ;

that they thought that the early views, with respect to Indian education, which erroneously pointed to the classical languages of the East as the *media* for imparting European knowledge,

Mass Education had led to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a high degree of education for a small number of Indians drawn, for the most part, from the higher classes and that their attention should, therefore, be directed to a consideration, still more important but too much neglected, *viz.*, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, might be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who were utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts ; that they desired, therefore, to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, in future, to this object by the establishment of schools in every district "not to train highly a few youths but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life ;

that indigenous schools should, by wise encouragement, Indigenous Schools e.g., on the lines adopted by Mr. Thomason in the North Western Provinces, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people ;

that in consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done to provide adequately for the education of the people of India they resolved to adopt, in India, the system of grant-in-aid which had been adopted in England

Grant-in-aid System with very great success, the system being based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted ; that no government colleges or schools should, therefore, be founded in future in any district which had a sufficient number of institutions capable, with Government grant, of supplying the local demand for education ; and that they looked forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government might be

discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, might be safely closed or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, or aided by, the State ;

that they desired to see the establishment of training schools and classes for masters in each Presidency on the plan adopted in Great Britain, which mainly consisted in the selection and

Training of Teachers stipend of pupil-teachers ; in awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they were employed for their instruction out-of-school hours ; in their ultimate transfer, if they proved fit, to normal schools ; in the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools ; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they were afterwards employed as school-masters ;

Teachers' Pay and Prospects that their wish was that the profession of school-masters might, in future, afford inducements (such as pay and pension) to the people of India, such as were held out in other branches of the public service ;

that they desired that where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government were equal, a person who had received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it might have been acquired, should be preferred to one who had not and that, even in lower situations, a man who could read and write should be preferred to one who could not, if he was equally eligible in other respects ;

Preference of the educated to the uneducated in Government Service that they approved of the institution of examination, where practicable, to be simply and entirely tests of fitness of candidates for the special duties of the various departments in which they were seeking employment ;

Examination of candidate for Government Service that, however large the number of appointments under Government might be, the views of the people of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education laid open to them ;

that they had always regarded with special interest those educational institutions which had been directed towards training up Indians to particular professions Professional (i.e., medical and engineering colleges and Education schools of industry and design) and were ready to aid in their establishment and support in parts of the country where they did not exist ;

that they would receive with favour any proposal likely Mahomedan to supply the educational needs of the Education Mahomedan community ;

that they concurred in the opinion that the Government Girls' Education ought to give to the education of Indian girls its frank and cordial support ;

that, Government institutions being for the benefit of the whole population, the education imparted in them should be exclusively secular ; that any religious instruction given should be out of school hours ; and that such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, no notice should be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits.

It will thus be seen that for the improvement and wider extension of education, both English and vernacular, the Despatch directed adoption of the following measure : constitution of a separate department for the administration of the work of education in each province ; institution of universities at the presidency towns ; establishment of training institutions for supplying teachers for the various classes of schools ; increased attention to schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country ; and the introduction of a system of grant-in-aid to schools and colleges under private management. The Despatch was epoch-making. It has been rightly described as the *Magna Charta* of Indian Education. It ended all the previous controversies regarding the aim of Government in the education of the Indian people, the place of the Indian languages, of English, and of Oriental Learning in Indian education, the medium of instruction, and the government attitude towards religious education. It inaugurated a new era of organized education, in mass education, university education, encouragement to private effort at education, and

teacher-training. It was, indeed, "the climax in the history of Indian education ; what went before led up to it ; what followed followed from it."¹

"The Despatch of 1854 laid the foundations on which Indian education has since been built. The Education Commission of 1882, the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, the Resolutions of 1904 and 1913 modified the policy to suit the exigencies of a later period, but preserved the original outlines demarcated in 1854."²

"The foundations remained the same with but little alteration. The edifice has followed the architect's plan with but few additions."³

The receipt of the Despatch was soon followed by considerable educational activity all over India. Departments of Public Instruction were organized in all the Provinces in 1855 ; the universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were created in 1857 after the model of the University of London for examining students and granting degrees in Arts, Medicine, and Civil Engineering, and a system of grant-in-aid to schools and colleges under private management was introduced in all the Provinces. The Despatch thus gave birth to the present system of Indian Education.

It is worthy of note that some of the glaring defects which developed in course of time in the system of education thus established are traceable to the disregard to some of the instructions conveyed in the Despatch, *i.e.*, those regarding the study of the vernaculars *pari passu* with English in schools, the use of English and the vernaculars together as media of instruction in secondary schools, institution of university professorships for such subjects as the vernaculars, provision of honours courses after the ordinary degree courses, representation of affiliated colleges on the university senate, periodical inspection of affiliated colleges ; extension of "useful and practical knowledge suited to every station of life" to the great mass of the people ; and institution of tests of fitness for candidates for admission to the different branches for the public service, apart from university examinations. Had these instructions been carefully worked up to, the educa-

¹ James, *Education and Statesmanship in India*, p. 42.

² Seventh Quinquennial Review, Government of India.

³ Sixth Quinquennial Review.

tional system which the Despatch brought into being would not have become liable to much of the adverse criticism which has since been levelled against it, e.g., regarding the failure of the Departments of Public Instruction to provide adequately for the proper study of vernaculars *pari passu* with English in secondary schools and for the conveyance of useful and practical knowledge suited to every station of life in primary schools ; the failure of the Universities to provide separate honours courses following the ordinary degree courses, to establish professorships for Indian languages, to give representation to all the affiliated colleges on the Senate, and to arrange for periodical inspection of affiliated colleges ; and the failure of Government to institute separate special tests for candidates for employment in different branches of the public service, apart from university examinations.

The policy laid down by the Despatch was reaffirmed and Under the the action taken under it was reviewed by Crown Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, in 1859, after the transfer of government from the Company to the Crown.

Howell summed up the results of the Despatches of Sir Charles Wood and Lord Stanley as follows :

"The Indian Educational Code is contained in the Despatches of the Home Government of 1854 and 1859. The main object of the former Despatch is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary education for the masses. Such instruction is to be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government, and a compulsory rate, levied under the direct authority of Government, is pointed out as the best means of obtaining funds for the purpose. The system must be extended upwards by the establishment of Government schools as models, to be superseded gradually by schools supported on the grant-in-aid principle. This principle is to be of perfect religious neutrality, defined in regular rules adapted to the circumstances of each province, and clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. Schools, whether purely Government institutions or aided, in all of which (excepting

normal schools) the payment of some fee, however small, is to be the rule, are to be in regular gradation from those which give the humblest elementary instruction to the highest colleges, and the best pupils of one grade are to climb through the other grades by scholarships obtained in the lower school and tenable in the higher. To provide masters, normal schools are established in each province, and moderate allowances given for the support of those who possess an aptness for teaching and are willing to devote themselves to the profession of school-masters. By this means it is hoped that at no distant period, institutions may be in operation in all the presidencies, calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools and thus in time greatly to limit, if not altogether to obviate, the necessity of recruiting the educational service by means of engagements made in England. The medium of instruction is to be the vernacular languages of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are to be advertised and liberally rewarded by Government, as the means of enriching vernacular literature. While, therefore, the vernacular languages are on no account to be neglected, the English language may be taught where there is a demand for it, but the English language is not to be substituted for the vernacular dialects of the country. The existing institutions for the study of the classical languages of India to be maintained, and respect is to be paid to the hereditary veneration which they command. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government, as by it a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. In addition to the Government and aided colleges and schools for general education, special institutions for imparting special education in law, medicine, engineering, art, and agriculture are to receive in every province the direct aid and encouragement of Government. The agency by which the system of education is to be carried out is a Director in each province, assisted by a competent staff of Inspectors, care being taken that the cost of control shall be kept in fair proportion to the cost of direct measures of instruction. To complete the system in each Presidency, a University is to be established on the model of the London University at each of the three Presidency towns. These Universities are not to be themselves places of education, but

they are to test the value of the education given elsewhere ; they are to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through the standard required being such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students. Education is to be aided and supported by the principal officials in every district and is to receive, besides, the direct encouragement of the state by the opening of Government appointments to those who have received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired ; and in the lower situations, by preferring a man who can read and write and is equally eligible in other respects, to one who cannot.”¹

The progress made under the system established by Wood’s Despatch was very rapid. It was accelerated by the transfer of education to Provincial Governments in 1871 and by the introduction of the Local Board and Municipal systems providing for local taxation for local purposes including education.

The levy of a local cess of one anna on every rupee of land revenue of which 1/3 was to be assigned to education and 2/3 to roads and works of public utility has continued since 1863-64.

At the time of transferring control of education to provincial governments in 1871, the Government of India issued a Resolution (No. 63 dated February 11th, 1871), laying down, for their guidance, the principle that it was their primary duty to assign funds for the education of those who were least able to help themselves and that the education of the masses, therefore, had the greatest claim on the State funds.

The progress thus made in India since 1854 was brought Indian Education Commission under careful and detailed review in 1882-83 by the Indian Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon and presided over by Sir William Hunter, then a member of the Viceroy’s Legislative Council.

The Commission was directed “to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of

¹ Howell’s Note on Education in 1866-67, pp. 1-3.

the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable, with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down. It was desired specially to bear in mind the great importance which the Government attached to the subject of primary education and to recommend measures for its extension and improvement.

Terms of Reference

The Commission was also asked to consider how further extension of the grant-in-aid system could be brought about ; "because, apart altogether from the consequent pecuniary relief of Government, it is chiefly in this way that the native community will be able to secure that freedom and variety of education which is an essential condition in any sound and complete educational system. It is not a healthy symptom that all the youth of the country should be cast, as it were, in the same Government educational mould. Rather is it desirable that each section of the people should be in a position to secure that description of education which is most consonant to its feelings and suited to its want."¹

Review of Previous History

The Commission, in reviewing the previous history of education in this country, since the advent of British Rule, divided the subject into three periods, each period marked by a distinctive character of its own, common, more or less, to all the provinces. The *first* period embraced the years of educational activity prior to Wood's Education Despatch of 1854, when a new departure was taken. During this period, the responsibility of the state for the education of the people was unacknowledged, and much of the good work then done was due to the endeavours of missionary and other philanthropic bodies, sometimes with, sometimes without, official assistance. The distinctive character of this period was, as far as the State efforts were concerned, the attention paid to *collegiate* education. The *second* period began with the issue of the great Despatch of 1854 and lasted till 1871 when control of education was transferred to the provincial governments. Public Instruction now became a recognised state obligation ; but administratively the distinctive character of

¹ Government of India Resolution appointing the Commission (Report of the Indian Education Commission, pp. 623-626).

the period as the extension of *secondary* education, that is, of schools in which English was the medium of instruction and the final standard aimed at was the University Matriculation Examination. The *third* period covered the years between 1871 and 1884, the year of the Commission's Report. It dated from Lord Mayo's decentralisation scheme. Its distinctive character was the attention paid to *elementary* education.

The first period might well be sub-divided into three periods. The first sub-division would be about the year 1825, when effect was given to that provision of the Charter Act of 1813 which appropriated a lakh of rupees annually for educational purposes and when the first nuclei of committees of public instruction were established in the three Presidencies. The distinctive character of this sub-period was the great activity of missionary bodies in the cause of education and the small recognition by the Government of its duty in the same cause. The second sub-period may be taken as ending about 1840, after the publication of Lord Auckland's famous Minute of 1839 which settled the controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists in favour of the former. This period was marked, not only by the controversy just referred to, but by the consolidation and extension of educational boards and committees which, in the previous period, had struggled into existence.¹ The third and last sub-period ended in 1854 with reception of Wood's Education Despatch and was distinguished by the attention paid to higher or collegiate education. Funds were scarce ; and Indian administrators of this period were satisfied with the "downward filtration" theory of education.

Thus practically, from the commencement of British rule up to the date of the Education Commission, education had passed through five cycles, each cycle covering a period of about fifteen years. First, there was the stage of missionary activity and State acquiescence; then, a stage of spasmodic and unsystematised official effort ; next, systematic administration directed mainly towards the promotion of collegiate education ; fourthly, the recognition of public instruction as a State obligation and an effort to fulfil it by the extension of secondary schools : and lastly, the systematic development of elementary education among the masses of the population.¹

¹ Memorandum on Technical Education in India, 1886-1904, pp. 1-3.

- Recommendation
of the
Commission
- As a result of their enquiry, the Commission recommended :
- that primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and not necessarily as a portion of instruction leading up to the University ;
 - that where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognised as an important means of extending elementary education ;
 - that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore ;
 - that primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues ;
 - that the first charges on provincial funds assigned for primary education be the cost of its direction and inspection and the provision of adequate normal schools ;
 - that the standards of primary examinations in each province be revised with a view to simplification and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts, and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health, and the industrial arts, but that no attempt be made to secure uniformity throughout India ;
 - that care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of managers in the choice of text-books ;
 - that promotion from class to class be not made to depend necessarily on the results of one fixed standard of examination throughout the province ;
 - that the vernacular in which instruction shall be imparted in any primary school, maintained by any municipal or local board, be determined by the school committee of management, subject to revision by the municipal or local board, provided

that if there be any dissenting minority in the committee, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be incumbent on the Department to provide for the establishment of such classes or schools, and on such municipal or local board to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds ;

that it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming ; and that, therefore, in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State, preferably, on the footing of the system of grant-in-aid ;

that all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Government schools of secondary education (including schools attached to the first and second grade colleges) in every case in which the transfer can be effected without lowering the standard or diminishing the supply of education and without endangering the permanence of the institution transferred ;

that, in ordinary circumstances, the further extension of secondary education in any district be left to the operation of the grant-in-aid system as soon as that district is provided with an efficient high school, Government or other, along with its necessary feeders ;

that in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary education, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, wherever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency ;

that in order to encourage the establishment of aided schools managers be not required to charge fees as high as those of a neighbouring Government school of the same class ;

that in the upper classes of high schools there should be two divisions—one leading to the entrance examination of the universities ; the other of a more practical character, intended

to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits ; and that when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or, if necessary, by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service ;

that promotions from class to class be left entirely to the school authorities ;

that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided ;

that while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of education should be levied in every college aided by the State, no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government College ;

that the discretionary powers of Principals of Colleges to admit to certain courses of lectures, in special cases, students who have not passed the examinations required by the Universities be affirmed ;

that Indian graduates, especially those who have graduated in European Universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been in the Government Colleges.

As regards physical and moral training in schools, the Commission recommended :

that physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school ;

that all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, conduct, and character of the children¹.

While making their recommendations regarding secondary school curriculum, the Commission observed: "It has been felt that the attention of students is too exclusively directed to university studies and that no opportunity is offered for the

¹ Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83, pp. 174-175, 254-255, 311-312, 586-587.

development of what corresponds to the 'modern side' of schools in Europe. It is believed that there is a real need in India of some corresponding course which shall fit boys for industrial or commercial pursuits, at the age when they commonly matriculate, more directly than is effected by the present system. The University looks upon the Entrance Examination, not as a test of fitness for the duties of daily life, but rather as a means of ascertaining whether the candidate has acquired that amount of general information and that degree of mental discipline which will enable him to profit by a course of liberal and professional instruction. In these circumstances, it appears to be the unquestionable duty of the Department of the State which has undertaken the control of education to recognise the present demand for educated labour in all branches of commerce and industrial activity and to meet it, so far as may be possible, with the means at the disposal.”¹

The Government of India, while generally accepting the recommendations of the Commission, observed as follows as regards their recommendation for the bifurcation of the secondary school curriculum :

“The bifurcation of studies suggested by the Commission is of special importance at the present time. Every variety of study should be encouraged which may serve to direct the attention of native youth to industrial and commercial pursuits. To be of any value, the bifurcation should be carried out, as the Commission advise, in the High School course. To postpone it till after matriculation at the university, would, to a great extent, render its advantages futile.”²

In their Resolution³ reviewing the Report of the Education Commission, the Government of India laid down broad lines of the educational policy which they desired the provincial governments to pursue. These met with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India who, in communicating it to the Government of India in 1885 instructed them to direct the preparation of a general annual report on Education in India embracing the important features of the several provincial reports on the subject. Accordingly, in 1887, the Government of India

¹ Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83, p. 220.

² Memorandum on Technical Education in India, p. 4.

³ No. 10/309 dated the 23rd October, 1884.

appointed Sir Alfred Croft, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, to prepare such a report.

In the meantime, in 1886, the Government of India got a Memorandum on Technical Education in India prepared, and circulated it to the provincial governments, inquiring whether

the suggestions made therein met with their
general concurrence and, if so, what steps,
having regard to financial considerations,
they proposed to take in order to give effect to them. The
Memorandum set forth the existing position of technical education
in the country and showed that little progress of a substantial
character had been made in promoting it.

In 1888, in reviewing Sir Alfred Croft's Report on Education in India, the Government of India referred again to technical education and remarked that the subject had been brought into prominence by the pressure of two sets of considerations. In the first place, it had been observed that the object of the Education Despatch of 1854, "that "useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life" should be conveyed to the great mass of the people, "was not being attained by a state education, too purely literary and leading too exclusively to literary culture." It had accordingly been recommended by the Education Commission and accepted by the Government of India, as a reform to be desired, that a secondary school course be introduced, which would fit boys for industrial or commercial careers. To give this recommendation precision necessary in a working rule, the Government of India, in their Memorandum on Technical Education above mentioned suggested that drawing and the rudiments of the sciences should be taught in all but the most elementary schools and that generally throughout the educational system the study of natural science and the cultivation of the faculty of observing and reasoning from observation and experiment should be encouraged ; in other words, that studies which might incline to the application of natural science and to scientific research should not be neglected in favour of literature. The other considerations which had forced this subject into prominence were, the Government of India observed, the need that had begun to be felt for industrial occupation by the rural population which had been rapidly outgrowing the means of support supplied by agriculture, and the increasing need for the

use of scientific methods in developing the material resources of the country and in improving its agriculture, products and manufactures, so that they might better hold their place in the markets of the world where competition was intensively carried on. Industries in the country had not, however, developed to such an extent as to render the establishment of special technical schools on a large scale, an essential requisite of success. Hence, provision of technical education in the latter sense, as an auxiliary of industry, as the cultivation of the intelligence, ingenuity, taste, observation, and manipulative skill of those employed in industrial production, so that they might produce more efficiently, was not considered to be immediately necessary. Technical education in the former sense, as an extension of general education, should first be aimed at, and technical education of a special character should be promoted and encouraged only where it might be needed to serve existing industries.¹

The Secretary of State for India concurred in this conclusion of the Government of India that Government should support technical education as an extension of general education, and should promote and countenance such technical education of a special character as might be applied to the service of existing industries which were likely to profit by the aid of scientific research, scientific method, and higher manipulative skill.

In the same Resolution, the Government of India, while recognising its responsibility to provide, so far as its finances permitted, facilities for the education of the people, plainly

Encouragement to Private Enterprise

declared that in education, as in all other matters, it was its policy to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise:

“it pioneers the way ; but having shown the way, it recognises no responsibility to do for the people what the people can and ought to do for themselves. When, therefore, local effort or private enterprise shows itself able and willing to supply the educational wants of the people in any locality, it is the policy of Government to retire from the field of direct instruction and to help by reasonable subventions of money the operations of independent institutions.”²

¹ Sir Alfred Croft, Review of Education in India in 1886, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Action taken on the recommendations of the Commission, coupled with the creation of municipal and district boards and transfer thereto of primary school administration, led to great improvement and extension of primary education and to spread of the grant-in-aid system.

The progress thus made in education came again, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, under comprehensive review extending to all kinds and grades of institutions, from universities to primary schools, and including in its scope the methods, organisations, tendencies, and results of Indian education taken

Review of Education during Lord Curzon's regime

as a whole. He made a searching inquiry into the educational position as it existed in 1901, and convened in September of that year a conference of Provincial Directors of Public Instruction to discuss the whole subject of education in all its aspects. He also appointed, in 1902, a Commission to inquire into the condition of the universities, to consider proposals for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend such measures as might tend to elevate the standard of university teaching and promote the advancement of learning. The recommendations of the Conference and the Indian Universities Commission resulted in the introduction of the Indian Universities Bill in the Viceregal Council in November 1903 and in the issue of the Government of India Resolution on Indian Educational Policy in March 1904.

In this Resolution, the Government of India acknowledged, at the outset, the substantial benefits that had been conferred upon the people by education since its organisation in 1854, but, at the same time, noted the defects that had developed in the system in course of years, the chief among them being : (1) that higher education was pursued with too exclusive a view to entering Government service, (2) that excessive prominence was given to examinations, (3) that

Resolution on Indian Educational Policy, 1904

the courses of study were too purely literary in character, (4) that schools and colleges trained the intelligence of the students too little and their memory too much, so that mechanical repetition took the place of sound learning ; and (5) that in the pursuit of English education the cultivation of the vernaculars was neglected with the result that the hope expressed in the Despatch

of 1854 that they would become the vehicle for diffusing Western knowledge among the masses was as far as ever from realisation.¹

As regards primary education, they observed that while the need for education had grown with the growth of the population, its progress had not been as rapid as it had been in previous years. Nor had the rate of growth of primary schools kept pace with that of secondary schools. The direct expenditure of Government on primary education during the preceding twenty-five years had remained almost stationary. On a general view of the question, therefore, the Government of India could not avoid the conclusion that primary education had till then received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They considered that it should be made a leading charge upon Provincial revenues. They fully accepted the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission with regard to primary education and undertook the responsibility for its active extension. Much needed to be done in this branch of education, since there were then only 22.2 p. c. of boys and 2.5 p.c. of girls of school-going age at school and one in ten of the male population and seven in a thousand of the female population who could read and write a simple letter and be said to be literate.

Primary education being instruction of the masses in such subjects as best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their position in life, the Government of India considered that the courses for rural schools should be somewhat differentiated from those for urban schools. "The aim of the rural school should be, not to impart definite agricultural teaching but to give to the children a preliminary training which will make them intelligent cultivators, will train them to be observers, thinkers, and experimenters in however humble a manner, and will protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they pay rent and with the grain dealers to whom they dispose of their crops. The reading books prescribed should be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar literary style, and should deal with topics associated with rural life. The grammar taught should be elementary, and only native systems of arithmetic should be used. The village map should be thoroughly under-

¹ Government of India Resolution on Indian Educational Policy, 1904, para 8.

stood, and a most useful course of instruction may be given in the accountant's papers, enabling every boy before leaving school to master the intricacies of the village accounts and to understand the demands that may be made on the cultivator.”¹

As regard secondary schools, the Resolution stated that the Government was bound, in the interest of the community, to see that the education provided in them was sound. It must, for example, satisfy itself regarding each school “that it is actually wanted ; that its financial stability is assured ; that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted ; that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard ; that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils ; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number, and qualifications ; and that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education.”² On these conditions alone should secondary schools be recognised and considered to be eligible to receive Government grant-in-aid or to send up pupils to compete for, or receive pupils in enjoyment of, Government scholarships. Further, no school which failed to conform to these elementary principles of sound education and secure government recognition should be permitted to present pupils for the university examinations.

As regards secondary school courses, the Government of India admitted that the attempts that had been made, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission to introduce alternative courses in order to meet the needs of those boys who were destined for industrial or commercial pursuits had not met with success ; that the purely literary courses, qualifying both for the University and for Government service, had continued to attract the majority of pupils, and that more practical studies were but little in request. They would not, however, abandon the aim, since in the existing stage of social and industrial development it appeared to them essential to promote diversified types of secondary education, corresponding to the varying needs of practical life.³ They therefore reaffirmed the recommendation of the Education Commission

¹ *Ibid.*, para 21.

² *Ibid.*, para 22.

³ *Ibid.*, para 23.

that the University Entrance Examination should no longer be accepted as a qualifying test for Government service ; and suggested for that purpose the institution of a separate School-Leaving Examination, more searching in character than the University Entrance Examination, and such as would not dominate the school course but would be adapted to it and would form the natural culminating point of secondary education.¹

As regards the criticism that the extension in this country of education modelled on European principles and purely secular in character had tended to cause indiscipline and encourage a spirit of irreverence in the rising generation, the Government of India held that the remedy for these evil tendencies was to be sought not so much in any formal methods of teaching conducted by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics, as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, in the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, in the institution of well-managed hostels, in the proper selection of text-books, such as biographies, which teach by examples, and above all, in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life.²

As regards languages in schools, they observed : "English has no place, and should have no place, in the scheme of primary education. It has never been part of the policy of Government to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. It is true that the commercial value which a knowledge of English commands and the fact that the final examinations of the high schools are conducted in English, cause the secondary schools to be subjected to a certain pressure to introduce prematurely both the teaching of English as a language and its use as a medium of instruction ; while for the same reasons the study of the vernacular in these schools is liable to be thrust into the background. This tendency, however, requires to be corrected in the interest of sound education. As a general rule, a child should not be allowed to learn English language until he has made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and has received a thorough grounding in his mother tongue. It is equally important that when the teaching of

¹ Government of India Resolution on Indian Educational Policy, para 24.

² *Ibid.*, para 25.

English has begun, it should not be prematurely employed as the medium of instruction in other subjects. Much of the practice, too prevalent in Indian schools, of committing to memory ill-understood phrases and extracts from text-books or notes, may be traced to the scholars having received instruction through the medium of English before their knowledge of the language was sufficient to enable them to understand what they were taught. The line of division between the use of vernacular and of English as medium of instruction should, broadly speaking, be drawn at a minimum age of 13. No scholar in a secondary school should, even then, be allowed to abandon the study of his vernacular, which should be kept up until the end of the school course.”¹

As regards University Education, they observed : “In founding the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, the Government of India of that day took as their model the type of institution then believed to be best suited to the educational conditions of India, that is to say, the examining University of London. Since then, the best educational thought of Europe has shown an increasing tendency to realise the inevitable shortcomings of a purely examining University, and the London University itself has taken steps to enlarge the scope of its operations by assuming tuitional functions. The model, in fact, has parted with its most characteristic features, and has set an example of expansion which cannot fail to react upon the corresponding institutions in India. Meanwhile, the Indian experience of the last fifty years has proved that a system which provides merely for examining students in those subjects to which their aptitudes direct them and does not at the same time compel them to study those subjects systematically under first-rate instruction tends inevitably to accentuate certain characteristic defects of the Indian intellect : the development of memory out of all proportion to the other faculties of the mind, the incapacity to observe and appreciate facts, and the taste for metaphysical and technical distinctions. Holding it to be the duty of a Government which has made itself responsible for education in India to do everything in its power to correct these shortcomings.....the Government of India have come to the conclusion that certain

¹ *Ibid.*, para 26.

reforms in the constitution and management of the Universities are necessary. They propose that the Senates, which from various causes have grown to an unwieldy size, should be reconstituted on a working basis and that the position and the powers of the Syndicates should be defined and regulated. Opportunity will be taken to give a statutory recognition to the privilege of electing members of the Senate which, since 1891, has been conceded by way of experiment to the graduates of the three older Universities. A limit will be placed upon the number of ex-officio fellows ; and a reduction will be made in the maximum numbers of the Senates so as to restrict nominations to those bodies to persons well qualified to discharge their responsible duties. Powers will be conferred upon all the Universities to make suitable provision for University teaching. The teaching given in colleges will, instead of being tested mainly or wholly by external examinations, be liable to systematic inspection under the authority of the Syndicate ; and the duty of the University not only to demand a high educational standard from any new college that desires to be recommended to Government for affiliation but also gradually to enforce a similar standard in colleges already affiliated will be carefully defined. A college applying for affiliation will be required to satisfy the University and the Government that it is under the management of a regularly constituted governing body ; that its teaching staff is adequate for the courses of instruction undertaken ; that the buildings and equipment are suitable and that due provision is made for the residence of some of the teaching staff ; that the financial resources of the college are sufficient ; that its affiliation, having regard to the provision for students made by neighbouring colleges, will not be injurious to the interests of education or discipline ; and that the fees to be paid by the students will not involve competition injurious to the interests of education with any existing college in the same neighbourhood. Colleges already affiliated will be inspected regularly and will be required to show that they continue to comply with conditions on which the privilege of affiliation is granted.”¹

As regards Technical Education, the Government of India observed that it has till then been mainly directed to the higher

¹ Government of India Resolution on Indian Education Policy, para 28.

forms of instruction required to train men for Government service as engineers, mechanicians, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers, or teachers in schools and for employment in railway workshops, cotton-mills, and mines. "The first call for fresh effort is now towards the development of Indian industries, and especially of those in which native capital may be invested. Technical instruction directed to this object must rest upon the basis of a preliminary general education of a simple and practical kind, which should be clearly distinguished from the special teaching that is to be based upon it, and should as a rule be imparted in schools of the ordinary type."¹

As regards Schools of Art, the Government of India expressed the opinion that the true function of Schools of Art in this country was the encouragement of Indian Art industries ; and that so far they failed to promote these arts or industries, or provided a training that was dissociated from their future practice, or were utilised as commercial ventures, they were conducted on erroneous principles.²

As regards Industrial Schools which were intended to train intelligent artisans or foremen, the Government noted that they had not yet succeeded in their purpose. A large proportion of their pupils had no intention of practising the trade they learnt, and passed into clerical and other employments. In some cases, the teaching given did not provide a training of a sufficiently high standard to enable them to hold their own with artisans who had learnt their craft in the bazaar. The industries selected for teaching were frequently not those which were locally of most importance, and there was an undue predominance of carpentry and blacksmith's work amongst them.³

As regards Commercial Education, they emphasised that the teaching should be adapted to Indian needs and should not be based merely upon English text-books or on the courses prescribed for the London Chamber of Commerce examinations. It should aim at supplying practical training for those who were to enter business houses either in a superior or a subordinate capacity.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, para : 31.

² *Ibid.*, para : 32.

³ *Ibid.*, para : 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, paras : 35 and 36.

As regards Agricultural Education, they admitted that for a country where two-thirds of the population were dependent for their livelihood on the produce of the soil, the provision for agricultural education was meagre and seriously needed expansion and reorganisation.¹

As regards training of teachers, they observed that if the teaching in secondary schools was to be raised to a higher level, if the pupils were to be cured of their tendency to rely upon learning notes and text-books by heart, if, in a word, European knowledge was to be diffused by the methods proper to it,—then it was most necessary that the teachers should themselves be trained in the art of teaching. In training them, every care should be taken to maintain a connection between the Training College and the school, so that the student on leaving the college and entering on his career as a teacher might not neglect to practise the methods which he had been taught, and might not (as sometimes happened) be prevented from doing so and forced to fall into the more mechanical methods of his untrained colleagues.²

As regards the functions of inspectors, they stated that inspectors should be much more than mere examiners. They should not only judge the results of teaching, but should guide and advise as to its methods.³

As regards examinations, they noted that they had grown to extravagant dimensions and that their influence had been allowed to dominate the whole system of education, with the result that instruction was confined within the rigid frame-work of prescribed courses, that all forms of training which did not admit of being tested by written examinations were liable to be neglected, and that both teachers and pupils were tempted to concentrate their energies not so much upon genuine study as upon the questions likely to be set by the examiners.⁴

As regards the policy of progressive devolution of primary, secondary, and collegiate education upon private enterprise and continuous withdrawal of Government from competition there-

¹ Government of India. Resolution on Indian Education Policy, paras : 35 and 36.

² *Ibid.*, paras : 38, 39 and 43.

³ *Ibid.*, para : 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, para : 13.

with, which had been recommended by the Indian Education Commission and had since been generally followed, the Government of India, while accepting this policy, held that in each branch of education Government should maintain a limited number of institutions both as models for private enterprise to follow and in order to uphold a high standard of education and that in withdrawing from direct management Government should retain a general control by means of efficient inspection over all public educational institutions.¹

In conclusion, the Resolution appealed to the people to make a wise use of the educational opportunities offered to them and to realise that education in the true sense meant something more than the acquisition of so much positive knowledge, something higher than the mere passing of examinations, that it aimed at the progressive and orderly development of all the faculties of the mind, that it should form character and teach right conduct—that it was, in fact, a preparation for the business of life.²

The principal features of the Indian Universities Bill were explained by Lord Curzon to the Legislative Council as follows :

"Its main principle is.....to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education. What we want to do is to apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist, to stop the sacrifice of everything in the colleges which constitute our University system to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for closer inspection of colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the government of the Universities in competent, expert, and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the Syndicates, to give statutory recognition to the elected Fellows, who are now only appointed on sufferance,.....to show the way by which our Universities which are now merely examining boards can ultimately be converted into teaching institutions ; in fact to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham. These are the principles underlying the Bill." The bill became the Indian Universities Act in 1904.

The Universities Act led to the reconstitution of the existing

¹ *Ibid.*, para : 46.

² *Ibid.*, para : 46.

Universities and the revision of their regulations for the recognition of schools and affiliation of colleges, made it their duty to arrange for regular periodical inspection of the affiliated colleges, and enlarged their legal powers so as to enable them to undertake teaching and develop gradually into teaching universities.

The next noteworthy event in the history of Indian Education was the visit of their Imperial Majesties, the King Emperor George V and Queen Empress Mary of India for Coronation at Delhi in 1911, when a memorable pronouncement was made on the subject of Indian Education. Replying to the address of the Calcutta University on January 6th, 1912, His Majesty declared :

"It is my wish that there may spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart."¹

This pronouncement, coupled with the announcement at the Coronation Durbar of an annual grant of fifty lakhs of rupees for popular education, gave great impetus to primary education all over India.

The educational position came again under review in 1913 during the regime of Lord Hardinge. In the Resolution then

Resolution on issued, the Government of India placed in the Indian Education policy, 1913 forefront of their policy the formation of the character of the scholars and undergraduates under tuition. Among other cardinal principles of policy they included the following :

(1) Steady raising of the standard of existing institutions in preference to increase of their number.

(2) Steady diversion of the scheme of primary and secondary education for the average scholar to more practical ends ; e.g., by means of manual training, gardening, outdoor observation,

¹ Indian Educational Policy, 1913, p. 1.

practical teaching of geography, school excursions, organized tours of instruction, etc.

(3) Provision for higher studies and research in India so that Indian students might have every facility for higher work without having to go abroad.¹

They desired the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis ; but they refused "for financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight,"² to recognise the principle of free and compulsory education advocated in Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill of 1911.

The education of girls, they observed, should be practical with reference to the position which they would fill in social life, and should not seek to imitate the education suitable for boys, nor should it be dominated by examinations.³

As regards secondary education, they reiterated their policy to rely as far as possible on private enterprise, observing that this policy was "dictated not by any belief in the inherent superiority of private over State management but by preference for an established system and, above all, by the necessity of concentrating the direct energies of the State and the bulk of its available resources upon the improvement and expansion of elementary education."⁴

They recommended the introduction of a secondary school course complete in itself and of a modern and practical character, freed from the domination of the matriculation examination, as recommended by the Indian Education Commission of 1882.⁵

As regards teachers, they believed that few reforms were more urgently needed than the extension and improvement of the training of teachers, both primary and secondary. They held that no teacher should be allowed to teach without a certificate that he was qualified to do so. They attached the greatest importance to the improvement of pay and prospects of teachers and the provision for their old age either by pension or provident fund. "It is not possible," they observed, "to have a healthy

¹ *Ibid.*, para : 4 and 8.

² *Ibid.*, para : 10.

³ *Ibid.*, para : 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, para : 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, para : 24.

moral atmosphere in any school, primary or secondary, or at any college, when the teacher is discontented and anxious about the future.”¹

As regards University Education, the Resolution ran as follows : “It is important to distinguish clearly, on the one hand, the federal university in the strict sense, in which several colleges of approximately equal standing, separated by no excessive distance or marked local individuality, are grouped together as a university, and on the other hand, the affiliating university of the Indian type, which, in its inception, was merely an examining body and, although limited as regards the area of its operations by the Act of 1904, has not been able to insist upon an identity of standard in the various institutions conjoined to it. The former of these types has in the past enjoyed some popularity in the United Kingdom, but after experience it has been largely abandoned there and the constituent colleges which were grouped together have, for the most part, become separate universities without power of combination with other institutions at a distance. At present there are only five Indian universities for 185 arts and professional colleges in British India besides several institutions in native states. The day is probably far distant when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating university. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which the affiliating universities have control by securing in the first instance a separate university for each of the leading provinces in India, and secondly, to create new local teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency. The Government of India have decided to found a teaching and residential university at Dacca, and they are prepared to sanction under certain conditions the establishment of similar universities at Aligarh and Benares and elsewhere as occasion may demand. They also contemplate the establishment of universities at Rangoon, Patna and Nagpur. It may be possible, hereafter to sanction the conversion into local teaching universities, with power to confer degrees upon their own students, of those colleges which have shown the capacity to attract students from a distance and have attained the requisite standard of efficiency. Only by

¹ Indian Educational Policy, 1913 paras : 51 and 53.

experiment will it be found out what type or types of universities are best suited to the different parts of India.”¹

The next event of importance in the history of Indian Education was the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission

The Calcutta University Commission by Lord Chelmsford in 1917. It was presided over by the late Sir Michael Sadler, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, and included among its members educationists of sound experience of university teaching and organisation, both British and Indian, a feature which distinguished it from previous Commissions.

Among the important recommendations made by the Commission were those for :

(i) the transfer of the intermediate stage of collegiate instruction from the university to new institutions called intermediate colleges attached to or distinct from selected secondary schools in each district ;

(ii) the creation of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, representative of all educational interests, for the inspection and control of the existing secondary schools and the proposed intermediate colleges ;

(iii) the institution of two examinations, a high school examination corresponding to the present matriculation and an intermediate college examination corresponding to the present intermediate (but much more varied in its range) and serving as a test of admission to university studies ;

(iv) the gradual reorganisation of the teaching staff of secondary schools and intermediate colleges on a professional rather than a service basis ;

(v) the creation of new universities and the reorganisation, as far as possible, of existing universities, on a unitary, teaching, and residential basis ;

(vi) the reduction of Government interference in the academic affairs of the universities to the minimum ;

(vii) the institution of honours courses, distinct from pass courses ;

(viii) the careful selection and appointment of university professors and readers ;

¹ *Ibid.*, para 45.

(ix) the appointment of small Civil Service Commission (a) to define the stage of educational attainment which should be required in the case of various groups of posts under Government, (b) to conduct competitive tests among qualified candidates for such vacancies as might be announced, and (c) to approve all appointments made by direct nomination in cases where this method of appointment was held to be desireable ;

(x) the appointment of a Director of Physical Training and a Board of Students' Welfare in each university to attend to the health and physical welfare of students ;

(xi) the institution of a Department of Education in each university for the professional training of teachers for secondary schools and intermediate colleges ;

(xii) the inclusion of Education as a subject (a) in one of the courses of study at Intermediate colleges and (b) in some of the groups approved for the pass B. A. degree ;

(xiii) the organization by charter of the whole body of teachers as a profession, with a registration council (representing the various bodies and grades of teachers) to regulate the conditions of entrance, to grant admission, and to frame and enforce rules of professional conduct ;

(xiv) the establishment of some sort of organic connection between universities and the older institutions for oriental studies with a view to the systematic encouragement and advancement of oriental studies and research ;

(xv) the institution of university chairs or readerships in the vernaculars and the introduction of the vernaculars among the subjects approved for pass and honours degrees with a view to encouragement of their more serious and scientific study ;

(xvi) the institution of technological courses and degrees suited to varying local needs ;

(xvii) the holding of informal periodical conferences of the authorities of the different Indian universities for the co-ordination of their curricula and courses and the discussion of matters of common interest.

These and other recommendations of the Commission greatly assisted the movement in favour of reform of university education in this country, and several provinces revised or reconstructed their systems accordingly.

The next event of importance in the history of Indian Education was the transfer of the whole subject of education, except

Montford Reforms in so far as it concerned domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians, to the control of Indian Ministers of Education appointed under the

Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutional Reforms inaugurated in 1921. This change was intended to enable the Legislative Councils by resolutions and budget votes as well as by other methods provided by the constitution to secure adaptation of their educational systems to the peculiar needs and circumstances of their provinces.

The educational conditions which prevailed during the period immediately following the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were "perhaps the most inspiring in the annals of Indian education. A burst of enthusiasm swept children into school with unparalleled rapidity, an almost childlike faith in the value of education was implanted in the minds of the people ; parents were prepared to make almost any sacrifice for the education of their children ; the seed of tolerance towards the less fortunate in life was begotten ; ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated, which were calculated to fulfil the dreams of a literate India ; the Muslim community, long backward in education, pressed forward with eagerness to obliterate past deficiencies ; enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old-time prejudice against the education of Indian girls Unfortunately, many of these golden opportunities were lost through inability to guide this spirit of enthusiasm into fruitful channels."¹

The Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission (commonly known as the Hartog Committee) which reviewed

The Hartog Committee educational progress made since the transfer of Education to the control of Indian Ministers under the Montford Reforms reported :

"Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness. In the primary system, which from our point of view should be designed to produce literacy and capacity to exercise an intelligent vote the waste is appalling. So far as

¹ Progress of Education in India, 1927-32, Tenth Quinquennia Review, Vol. I, p. 3.

we can judge, the vast increase in numbers in primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, for only a small proportion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV, in which the attainment of literacy may be expected It is to be remembered that under present conditions of rural life, and with the lack of suitable vernacular literature, a child has very little chance of attaining literacy after leaving school, and, indeed, even for the literate, there are many chances of relapse into illiteracy.

"The waste in the case of girls is even more serious than in the case of boys. The disparity in education and literacy between women and men far from decreasing by the effort made is actually increasing. The disparity between the wealthier parts of the country and the poorer parts also tends to increase.

"In the sphere of secondary education there has been an advance in some respect, notably in the average capacity of the body of teachers, in their improved conditions of service and training, and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life. But here again there are grave defects of organisation. The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university and the immense number of failures at matriculation and in the University Examinations indicates a great waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide industrial and vocational training have little contact with the educational system and are therefore largely infructuous. Many of the universities and colleges show marked improvement in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced ; and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly. But the theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India ; and we wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. They have been hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers."¹

¹ Report of the Hartog Committee, pp. 345-346.

The period reviewed by the Hartog Committee was unfortunately succeeded by a period of great financial stringency, which caused heavy and indiscriminate retrenchment of educational expenditure. "In a spirit almost of panic, wholesale reductions have been made by rule-of-thumb methods and by percentage reductions with the results that good and bad together have been thrown indiscriminately into the abyss. A well-directed policy of retrenchment would have resulted in the cutting away of the dead wood and ineffective expenditure which have hitherto obstructed the salutary and economic growth of education."¹

Indiscriminate cuts in education made on the ground of financial stringency since the transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers 1921 and increasing unemployment of the educated during the period caused wide-spread dissatisfaction with the present system of education. It found expression at the Third Conference of Indian Universities held under auspices of the Inter-University Board at Delhi in 1934, which, after

Universities'
Conference
1934

full consideration of the subject, resolved :

(1) "that a practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in school in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to professions or to separate vocational institutions" ; and (2) "that with a view to effecting improvement in secondary education and thus making possible a higher standard of university education, the period of study in the university for a Pass degree should be at least three years, although the normal length of the period during which a pupil is under instruction should not be increased, and that this period should be divided into four stages : (a) Primary, (b) Middle, (c) Higher Secondary, and (d) University, covering five (or four), four (or five), three, and at least three years respectively, there being a formal examination only at the end of each stage, thus avoiding the abuse of too frequent formal examinations."

¹ Progress of Education in India, 1937-32, Tenth Quinquennial Review, Vol. I. p. 4.

The Central Advisory Board of Education (which, after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935), took the place of the Bureau of Education that had been created soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921 for advice and guidance to provincial governments in educational matters of general

The Central
Advisory Board
of Education
and its scheme
of Educational
Reconstruction

All-India interest and had been abolished as a measure of economy in public expenditure in 1923, considered the opinions received from provincial governments on the above propositions and adopted the following resolutions :

A radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools should be made in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and university courses but also to enable them, at the completion of the appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions.

These stages should be :

- (1) Primary stage, which should aim at providing at least the minimum general education and training, and which will ensure permanent literacy.
- (2) Lower Secondary stage, which should provide a self-contained course of general education and should constitute a suitable foundation either for higher education or for specialised practical courses. In rural areas a course at this stage should be provided which would aim at the development of practical aptitudes and would be made compulsory.
- (3) Higher Secondary stage, in which would be included institutions with varying lengths of courses : (i) preparing students for admission to universities in arts and science, (ii) for training teachers in rural areas, (iii) for agricultural training, (iv) for clerical training, and (v) for training in selected technical subjects, which should be chosen in consultation with employers.

Where separate institutions are not possible for diversified courses, some of them might be incorporated in a higher secondary course of enlarged scope which would permit a choice of alternative grouped subjects and would end in a leaving certificate. Certificate granted to pupils completing other specialised courses should receive Government recognition. At the end of the

Lower Secondary School courses there should be the first public examination. Candidates desirous of joining subordinate clerical services of Government and local bodies should pass such qualifying examinations as might be prescribed by the proper authority and should not be more than 19 years of age at the date of their examination.

The Board was of the opinion that expert advice would be of value in organising a scheme of reconstruction as outlined by them. Each province should organise employment bureaus for the purpose of advising students and of eliciting the support and guidance of employers interested in the problem.

Accordingly, the Government of India invited experts of the Board of Education, England, to advise on the subject. The experts selected by the Board of Education were Mr. Abbott, formerly His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, and Mr. S. H. Wood, Director of Intelligence, Board of Education. They arrived in 1936, toured round the country to investigate the matter, and submitted their Report on Vocational Education and Administration in 1937. Their main recommendations with regard to General Education and Administration were :

- (1) Infant classes should, as far as possible, be entrusted to trained women teachers.
- (2) The education of children in the Primary Schools should be based more upon the natural interests and activities of young children and less upon book-learning. Concentration on literacy as a narrow objective was unsound.
- (3) The curriculum of the rural Middle (or Lower Secondary) Schools should be closely related to the children's environment ; and if English is taught to any children of "middle school" age, it should not be allowed to result in an excessive amount of time being devoted to linguistic studies.
- (4) The vernacular languages should, so far as possible, be the medium of instruction throughout the High or Higher Secondary Schools, but English should be a compulsory language for all pupils in these schools.
- (5) The teaching of English should be made more domestic and less attention should be devoted by the average boy to the study of English "prose and poetry," arrangements being made

to meet the needs of those boys specially qualified to pursue more advanced English studies.

(6) Manual work, that is, creative manual activities of diverse kinds, should be part of the curriculum of every school.

(7) More systematic attention should be paid to the teaching of Art.

(8) Physical education should not be limited to formal physical training and organised games. Playgrounds should be more constantly used for purely recreative purposes, especially in the case of young children.

(9) The training of teachers should be regarded as consisting of two stages : pre-employment preparation in a Normal School or Training College, followed by systematic short courses of training for teachers who have had some experience of their profession. In due course, a Government "Refresher" Training College should be established in each province.

(10) The pre-employment course of training for teachers of Primary and Middle (or Lower Secondary) Schools should be a three years' course following, without any gap, the completion of the Middle (or Lower Secondary) School course.

(11) There should be greater austerity of administration in the education service, more consistent action by authority in case of deliberate maladministration, and recovery by Government of some of the powers relinquished to local bodies.

(12) The formulation and execution of long-range policy in education demands a more permanent tenure of office by the administrative head of the Department of Education.

(13) Inspectors should not be subject to the distractions which come from serving more than one master ; and their scale of travelling allowances should not be so limited as to hamper the efficient discharge of their duties.

(14) Inspectors and, if funds allow, selected teachers should be offered facilities for studying educational methods abroad.

The British experts' main recommendations on Vocational Education were :

(1) Vocational education is not on a lower plane than literary education, since the full purpose of education is to develop the powers of the mind, body, and spirit so that they may be devoted to the welfare of the society.

(2) General and vocational education are not essentially different branches, but the earlier and later phases of a continuous process. Each subject in the vocational school has its origin in the non-vocational school.

(3) General and vocational education should not be provided in the same school, since the pupils in the two types have very diverse aims.

(4) Vocational education is not a matter for the school alone, since it is a specific, and not a general, preparation for employment. Industry and commerce must co-operate with educational organisations, if the vocational education provided is to be appropriate and adequate. Organised co-operation of this kind does not yet exist in India.

(5) A Government Advisory Council for Vocational Education, including the Director of Public Instruction, the Director of Industries, two or three Principals of important vocational schools, and four or five business men possessing knowledge and experience of particular branches of business, should be established in each province for securing close and regular co-operation between industry and commerce on the one hand and education on the other.

(6) Full-time vocational schools should be classified as "Junior" and "Senior" of the type of "Junior" and "Senior" Technical Schools in England.

(7) The entrance standard for the former should be successful completion of the Middle School (Class VIII) course and that for the latter successful completion of the Higher Secondary School (Class XI) course.

(8) The Junior Vocational School should provide a three years' course, parallel to the Higher Secondary School course, and should be held in the same repute.

(9) The Senior Vocational School should provide a two years' course parallel to the two years' course of the existing Intermediate Colleges.

(10) Part-time schools should be provided for the further education of young men already in employment and if possible, the class should be held in the day time, the students being released by their employers for two half days a week in order that they might attend.

(11) Schools in India devote insufficient attention to the

teaching of art and there is a serious risk of the artistic traditions of the country being weakened. The spheres of influence of the existing schools of arts and crafts should be enlarged considerably ; and other schools of arts and crafts working in close co-operation with them should be set up as opportunity occurs.

(12) In view of the importance of the vocational guidance of boys when they are on the point of deciding upon their future occupations, it is desirable that the problem of devising suitable methods for this should be attacked in India as it has been in other countries.

About the same time that the recommendations of the Wood and Abbott Report were placed before the public, Mahatma Gandhi initiated discussion on an independent scheme of national

Wardha
Education
Conference

education and convened an All-India National Education Conference at Wardha in the Central Provinces in October, 1937. The Conference drew up a scheme of Basic Education, which has since come to be known as the Wardha Scheme of Education. The principles underlying this scheme are :

(1) that free and compulsory Basic Education should be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale ;

(2) that the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue ; and

(3) that throughout the period of Basic Education, all instruction should centre round some form of manual and productive work and that all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

The seven years' course of Basic Education drawn up under the scheme by a committee of educationists presided over by Dr. Zakir Hussain, the then Principal, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, included the following subjects :

- (i) The Basic Craft, such as spinning and weaving, carpentry, agriculture, fruit and vegetable gardening, and leather work ;
- (ii) the Mother-tongue, (iii) Mathematics ; (iv) Social Studies, including Geography, History, and Civics ; (v) Drawing ;
- (vi) Music ; (vii) Hindustani.

The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed special committees to examine the Wardha Education Scheme in the light of Wood and Abbott's Report, and, after full consideration of the Committee's reports, came to the following conclusions :

The aim of the Wardha Education Scheme is not, as is represented by some of its critics "the production of craftsmen able to practise some crafts mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work. The craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities. It should find natural points of correlation with important human activities and interests."

The Scheme (a) emphasises education through activity and is not primarily concerned with the production of saleable material ;

(b) does not make spinning and weaving the only basic craft, but admits of the inclusion of any craft of equal or higher educative possibilities ;

(c) does not imply the ruling out of facilities for religious (denominational) education, where any community desires it ; and

(d) does not state or imply that the salary of the teachers must be directly met from the sale of material made in the school.

The scheme is primarily for rural areas. It should be introduced first in rural areas and should not be extended to urban areas without necessary modifications, though the principle of education through activity is as true for urban as for rural schools.

Basic Education given under the scheme should comprise a course of eight years from the age of 6 to 14 years, divided into two stages—Junior and Senior, the first covering a period of 5 years and the second of 3 years.

Transfer of pupils from the Basic to other forms of post-primary education should be allowed after the 5th grade, *i.e.*, at the conclusion of the Junior Basic stage.

The various types of post-primary school (other than the Senior Basic School) to which suitable children may be transferred at the end of the Junior Basic stage should provide a variety of courses extending over a period of at least five years after the age of 11. These courses, while preserving an essentially cultural

character, should be designed to prepare pupils for entry to industrial and commercial occupations as well as to universities.

Suitable courses should be framed for girls attending Senior Basic schools, which should include such subjects as cookery, laundry work, needle work, homecrafts, care of children, and first aid, the remainder of the instruction to be correlated with this course of domestic science in accordance with the general principles of the Basic Education scheme.

The medium of instruction should be the vernacular of the pupils.

A common language for India is desirable. This should be Hindustani, but in the provinces in which it is not spoken it should be introduced in schools as a second language.

The Wardha Scheme of basic education is in full agreement with the recommendations made in the Wood and Abbott's Report so far as the principle of learning by doing is concerned. This activity should be of many kinds in the lower classes and, later, should lead to a basic craft, the produce from which should be saleable and the proceeds applied to the upkeep of the school.

Certain elements of cultural subjects which cannot be correlated with basic craft must be taught independently.

The training of teachers should be reorganized and their status raised.

Efforts should be made to recruit more women teachers and to persuade girls of good education to take up teaching.

Basic schools should be started only when suitable trained teachers are available.

The curriculum will need revision in the light of experience.

English should not be introduced as an optional subject in basic schools.

The State should provide facilities as at present for every community to give religious teaching, when so desired, but not at the cost of the State.

No external examination need be held. At the end of the basic school course, a Leaving Certificate based on an internal examination should be given.

Pupils wishing to join other schools at the end of the fifth class (age 11 plus) should also be granted a Leaving Certificate.

Promotion from class to class should be determined by the

schools, though the results of the internal examinations should be subject to the supervisors' inspection.

Another subject which has received considerable attention in recent years is that of Adult Education as a means of removal of mass illiteracy which prevails in this country to a large extent. The Central Advisory Board of Education, at its meeting in December 1939, appointed a committee to consider this question, and at its meeting in May, 1940, recorded the following main conclusions on the subject in the light of this committee's report :

To secure an early and effective solution of India's educational problems, the provision of facilities for adult education on the widest scale and the introduction of a free and a compulsory system of primary education are of equal urgency and must be treated as complementary to each other.

While the literacy campaign is only one aspect of the adult education movement, the prevalence of illiteracy in India at the present time makes it the aspect to which immediate attention must be devoted.

Literacy is a means to further education and must not be regarded as an end in itself. The primary aim of the campaign must be not merely to make adults literate but to keep them literate. To achieve its object the attack must be launched on the widest possible front with the help of every agency, human or material, which can in any way contribute to its success. Continuous and effective propaganda of all kinds is essential.

Efforts should be directed in the beginning to persuade illiterates voluntarily to undergo instruction. If a voluntary system fails to achieve its object, ways and means of bringing pressure to bear on illiterates should be explored.

In a movement of this character, the utmost freedom must be allowed to experiment, and regard must be had at all times to local conditions. No useful purpose would be served by attempting to prescribe methods or to draw up a code applicable to India as a whole.

Whatever subjects are introduced into the curriculum and whatever teaching methods are adopted, the form in which instruction is given must be intelligible and interesting to the student, and the instruction itself should be closely related to his occupa-

tion, his personal interests, and the social and economic conditions under which he lives.

It is unnecessary and inexpedient in view of the circumstances prevailing in India to draw any rigid distinction between adult education in the strict sense and technical, commercial or art instruction or to regard the latter as falling outside the sphere of the former. The easiest way of approach to many adult students may be through subjects of vocational character.

With a view to defining what is meant by an adult, it is recommended :

- (a) that a boy under the age of 12 should not be admitted to an adult centre under any circumstances ;
- (b) that a boy so long as he is attending a full time day school, should be encouraged to attend evening class as well.

Every effort should be made to enlist the help of voluntary agencies. Classes run by reputable associations should receive every encouragement ; and bodies whose primary objects are not educational need not be excluded, if adequate safeguards are provided against any risk of the movement being used for religious or political propaganda.

Universities should be urged to expand and popularise the work of their extra-mural departments, and provide opportunities for adult students of exceptional ability to take a university course.

Mechanical aids to learning, such as the radio, the cinema, the gramophone, and the magic lantern can be used with great effect in adult education. To enable them to be employed much more widely than at present, steps should be taken to increase their supply and reduce their cost.

An adequate supply of trained and competent teachers is the fundamental need in adult as in every other branch of education. Teachers in day schools may be expected to form the nucleus of this supply, but in view of the fact that teaching methods which are successful with children are not always suitable for adults, they will require a special course of training. It is recommended that the course of training in the normal schools should include instruction in the technique of teaching adults.

It will be necessary to supplement the professional teacher

by a large body of helpers drawn from other occupations. The training of these is an essential preliminary to their employment, particularly if they are to be in charge of classes.

Every province should appoint Inspectors and Organizers expert in and able to devote their whole time to adult education.

The movement so far has depended very largely on unpaid service, but it is reasonable to anticipate that it will soon require a very considerable proportion of paid workers, especially when the demand arises for instruction beyond the stage of mere literacy. The financial implications of this, including the rates of pay and conditions of service to be offered, are matters for local consideration.

A library is an essential adjunct to every adult education centre. Liberal grants should be given to increase the number and size of libraries, particularly in rural areas, and to assist the production of suitable literature.

The importance of a wide expansion of facilities for adult education is even more important in the case of women than of men. The methods of approach in the case of women must be at once more varied and less formal.

Illiteracy is not confined to the village : a large proportion of the workers in urban areas is also illiterate. In this connection it is essential to secure the co-operation of employers of labour and associations of workers.

The progress of the Adult Education Movement can be ensured only if its control in each Province is vested in the Education Department.

With the attainment of independence and the introduction of adult franchise, the problem of adult education assumed special importance, for no democracy could be successful as long as its electorate was illiterate and was unable to understand fully the various problems confronting the country. The Central Advisory Board of Education, therefore, adopted the recommendation of its special sub-committee for the removal of illiteracy and for the further education of literates—that adult education should not be limited to making people literate but that it should also include general education so as to prepare them for active citizenship and that literacy and general education should proceed simultaneously, greater emphasis being laid on

the latter aspect of adult education with a view to enabling every citizen to participate actively in the new social order.

The Ministry of Education, Government of India, accordingly drew up a programme of Social Education, with a view to imparting literacy and giving instruction in citizenship to all members of the State who were denied in their youth the opportunity of formal instruction, defining Social Education as a course of study directed towards the production of consciousness of citizenship among the people and promotion of social solidarity among them, including in it three aspects, *viz.*, (a) the spread of literacy among grown-up illiterates ; (b) the production of an educated mind in the masses in the absence of literacy education ; and (c) the inculcation of a lively sense of rights and duties of citizenship, both as individuals and as members of a powerful nation, and indicating the following matters for instruction to adult illiterates with a view to inducing the growth of a sense of citizenship and producing an educated mind among them :

(i) meaning of citizenship and the way in which democracy functions, knowledge of the history and geography of the country and the social conditions obtaining therein, acquaintance with the working of the state, meaning and value of vote—that it is not only a valuable right, but also a great obligation ;

(ii) instruction in the laws of personal and public health, importance of clean and healthy living ;

(iii) information to enable them to effect improvement in their economic status, so that adult education may be linked to their economic life ;

(iv) training and refinement of emotions through Art, Literature, Music, Drawing, and other Recreative activities ;

(v) instruction in the principles of human brotherhood and universal ethics, with special emphasis upon the necessity of toleration of one another's difference in a democracy.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the late Minister of Education, Government of the Indian Republic, in his Inaugural Address at the UNESCO Seminar on Rural Education at Delhi in November-December, 1949, explained :

"By Social Education, we mean an education for the complete man. It will give literacy so that the knowledge of the world may become accessible to him. It will teach him how to harmonise himself with his environment and make the best of the

physical conditions in which he subsists. It is intended to teach him improved crafts and modes of production, so that he can achieve economic betterment. It also aims at teaching him the rudiments of hygiene both for the individual and the community so that our domestic life may be healthy and prosperous. Last but not the least, this education should give him training in citizenship so that he may obtain some insight into the affairs of the world and can help the Government to take decisions which will make for peace and progress."

"Examinations" was another important subject considered by a special committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education. Its main conclusions and recommendations were :

- (1) That the number of external examinations which it might be necessary to retain at the end of certain stages of education should be reduced to the minimum. In all cases, an examination should be regarded as the servant and not the master of the curriculum.
- (2) That there should not be any external examination at the end of the primary stage, but there might be a selection test at the end of this stage, e.g., for the age-groups between 10 and 12 so as to enable suitable pupils to be chosen for admission to the higher stages of education.
- (3) That there should be another test for pupils of 14 so that the "Late Developers" might not be debarred from facilities for higher education.
- (4) That apart from such special tests as might be required for admission to high schools, external examination at the end of the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School stage was neither necessary nor desirable. Any demand for a leaving certificate should be met by the issue of one based on a balanced assessment of character and progress throughout the later stages of the school career.

- (5) That at the end of the High School stage there should be only one external examination to be called the High School Certificate Examination and that this examination should be of such a character as to suit those pupils who would enter employment on leaving school as well as those who intended to proceed to a University. The minimum contents of an examination designed with this twofold purpose should be provided through a syllabus including the following subjects :

Compulsory : (a) English ; (b) A Modern Indian language.

Optional : From among the following groups not less than four and not more than six, of which at least one must be from group A and another from group C or D.

Group A : (a) History of India ; (b) History of England ;
(c) Geography.

Group B : A language other than the compulsory language.

Group C : (a) Elementary Mathematics ; (b) Advanced Mathematics.

Group D : (a) Elementary Science ; (b) Physics ;
(c) Chemistry ; (d) Biology ; (e) Geography.

Group E : (a) Art ; (b) Music ; (c) Crafts.

Group F : Domestic Science.

Group G : (a) Book-keeping ; (b) Type-writing ; (c) Commercial Practice.

Group H : (a) Agricultural Science.

Group I : (a) General Engineering Science ; (b) Engineering Drawing ; (c) Wood work shop practice ; (d) Engineering work shop practice.

(6) That there should be only one external examination at the end of a three-year University degree course.

(7) That the class promotion at the primary stage should be determined more by the general performance throughout the year than by a single examination result.

(8) That likewise, in the middle and high school stages there should be only annual tests supplemented by the teacher's opinion and the pupil's record.

(9) That in the University stage also there should be only one internal examination at the end of each year.

As regards the technique of examinations, the Committee considered that symbolic marking was the most satisfactory method of determining whether a candidate or a group of candidates had reached a certain level of efficiency and was of the opinion that though it might be necessary to allot numeral marks or produce an order of merit in the top group of candidates, attempts to arrange all candidates in order should be avoided wherever possible. In the normal course, for grading the achievements of examinees it would be sufficient if they were graded into three or four main groups.

The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed also a Committee to consider the questions of training, recruitment

and conditions of service of teachers, which came to the following conclusion :

(1) That every teacher employed in any kind of school Training and Con- maintained, aided, or recognised by Govern- ditions of Service ment must be trained.
of Teacher

(2) That any person entering upon a course of training should have minimum educational background, in no case lower than the possession of a matriculation certificate or its equivalent.

(3) That no candidates should be admitted for training unless they were over the age of 16 or would reach that age during the calendar year in which they were admitted.

(4) That teachers trained for Nursery and Infant schools should invariably be women.

(5) That a degree or its equivalent should be laid down as the minimum preliminary educational qualification for persons intending to be teachers in high schools.

(6) That the period of training in the case of primary school teachers should be at least two years and in the case of secondary teachers, two years for non-graduates and one year for graduates.

(7) That the training course of primary teachers should be mainly devoted to giving students the necessary facility with a craft or crafts and teaching them how to correlate other subjects with the craft work in a rational way. One third of the time should be devoted to improving and enlarging the general educational background of the trainees, with special emphasis on such subjects as nature study, local literature, and history, together with a second language where such may be required ; one third to theory and method of teaching with special reference to handi-crafts and the problem of correlation ; and the remaining third to practical teaching. In the case of non-graduate middle and Anglo-Vernacular school teachers, half the time of their training course should be devoted to improving their general knowledge and half to theory and practice of teaching. In the case of graduate teachers of high schools on the other hand, the whole of their year of training should be divided equally between theory and practice of teaching.

(8) That students in training should do their practice teaching in ordinary schools which reproduce the conditions

under which they would subsequently be required to teach rather than in model practising schools where the conditions tend to be artificial.

(9) That the training to primary school teachers in such special subjects as Handicrafts, Domestic Science, Physical Training, Arts and Music should be provided during their normal course of training and in Domestic Science and Physical Training to special teachers in Middle and Anglo-Vernacular schools and High schools in a specialised course of one year in addition to the normal course of their training.

(10) That teachers of technical and commercial subjects should have at least one year's training in the art of teaching, apart from their previous education in technical and commercial institutions and practical experience in industry and commerce.

(11) That in addition to their initial training, refresher courses for all teachers should be provided at reasonably frequent intervals, and also facilities for visits to other districts or areas to observe work being done in comparable schools or areas to study new experiments and, in the higher stages of education, grant of study leave in order to enable them to keep their knowledge up to date in their particular subject.

(12) That where untrained teachers are appointed, the period of their appointment must be strictly limited to two years.

(13) That at the training stage adequate financial assistance should be available for all students who might stand in need of it.

(14) That the whole condition of the teaching service in the lower stages of the educational system was so unsatisfactory that no real progress could be looked for unless and until the position of the teachers was radically improved ; that if India wanted her children to be taught properly she must be prepared to pay them properly or face the alternative, which is permanent inferiority in the society of civilised nations ; and that on these considerations the minimum salary scales for teachers, both men and women, should be as follows :

(i) In primary schools (including nursery schools and infant schools) Rs. 30-1-35- (3 biennially).
50 p.m. with free housing accommodation and increase up to 50 percent in the

	above scale in urban and expensive areas.
(ii) In Vernacular Middle schools and for undergraduate assistants in Anglo-Vernacular Middle schools and in middle classes of High schools.	Rs. 40-2-80 p.m. and increase up to 50 percent in the above scale in expensive areas.
(iii) For graduate assistants in High schools	Rs. 70-5-150 p.m. and increase up to 50 percent in the above scale in expensive areas.

The committee also recommended Rs. 40/- p.m. as the minimum salary for the Headmaster of the small primary school, Rs. 80/- p.m. as the minimum for the Headmaster of the smallest Middle school, and Rs. 175/- p.m. for the Headmaster of the smallest High school.

A Joint Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Central Advisory Board of Health was also appointed to report on the Medical Inspection of school children and the Teaching of Hygiene in schools, and it came to the following conclusions :

- (1) That it was absolutely essential that steps should be taken to ensure that children attending school were healthy and were kept healthy.
- (2) That a school medical service should be organized for this purpose.
- (3) That the medical examination of school children should be held by a specially trained qualified doctor during school hours and, if possible, in the presence of the parents and the physical instructor : (a) on entry into primary school at approximately the sixth year ; (b) at the eleventh year and (c) at the fourteenth year, and for children in high schools when leaving at the age of seventeen.
- (4) That the results of the medical examination should always be gone through by the doctor with the Head Teacher and, if necessary, with the class teacher also, before he leaves the school.
- (5) That a record should be maintained for each child.

which should go with the child at the time of his transfer from one school to another.

(6) That height and weight records should be taken not less than twice a year by the teacher.

(7) That the scheme of medical inspection should include provision for treatment and follow-up and for supplementary nourishment, and also special arrangements for the treatment of dental defects, tonsils, and adenoids and for the correction of the more serious defects of vision and hearing.

(8) That school clinics should be established in urban areas for the provision of the *right kind of treatment*.

(9) That treatment should be directed towards the care of the child as a whole and not confined merely to the particular defect discovered.

(10) That it was essential from the point of view of education and of health, that all children should be given a midday meal, whether it was brought by the children from their homes or provided at the school by the authorities.

(11) That where food was provided by the authorities, parents who were able to pay should contribute their share to the cost of the scheme and that in the case of children whose parents were too poor to pay, no charge should be made.

(12) That since the practice of personal hygiene by school children depended largely on the example set by the teacher, not only must the teacher's personal cleanliness be of a high standard but his physique and general health must also be good and that, therefore, all candidates for teachers' training should be medically examined ; and that all teachers should be required to undergo medical examination of fitness, before appointment, and periodical examination thereafter by the school doctor as much to protect their own health as to eliminate any danger to the school population.

(13) That a daily health and cleanliness parade should be held before the commencement of school work in order to get an opportunity of supervising the practice of cleanliness by the children and detecting minor ailments, fatigue, malnutrition, and other departures from health, and giving suitable advice or initiating treatment, when necessary.

(14) That each school should be provided with some kind of container in which wholesome water, kept under lock and

key would be made available to the children by being drawn off through a tap.

(15) That co-operative effort among the children for the cleaning up of the school and its surrounding areas should be encouraged.

(16) That instruction of school children in hygiene should begin at the earliest age possible and that at the beginning it should be given wholly on practical lines and devoted mainly to personal hygiene.

(17) That text books on hygiene should deal with Indian conditions.

(18) That the Education Department headquarters staff should include a well qualified and experienced officer to organize a scheme of physical instruction in schools and colleges.

(19) That the physical instructor should have training in the elementary principles of physiology of the hygienic mode of life and of nutrition.

(20) That health education should find a prominent place in the programme of physical instructors, the aim being to develop in them the incentive and the ability to train children to practise healthful living and to enable them to co-operate intelligently in medical inspection.

(21) That some period every day should be devoted to organized physical activity and that organized games should form an important part of the curriculum for physical education and that they should be played during, not after, school hours.

(22) That the curriculum of the school should be so arranged as to provide at least one period a week for some corporate activity in addition to physical training and organized games ; and

(23) That a sustained campaign to interest the parents in the school activities and to increase the opportunities of contact between the parents and the school authorities must be undertaken, e.g., through broadcasts, cinematograph films, school journeys and excursions, prize distributions, school concerts, sports gatherings, and parents' day celebrations.

All these conclusions and recommendations of its Committees were generally accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education and brought to the notice of Provincial Governments. All of them were also incorporated in the Report of

Mr. (now Sir) John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India on "Post-War Educational Development in India" which recommended the following measures :

- (1) Pre-Primary Education for children of 3 to 6 years, particularly for those living in factory areas and amid unsatisfactory housing conditions, Post-War Education in nursery schools or classes placed in charge of specially trained women teachers ;
- (2) Free and compulsory Basic Education of 8 years for all children—in Junior Basic or Primary schools for children of 6 to 11 years and in Senior Basic or Middle schools for children of 11 to 14—conducted on the principle of "learning through activity", to give the minimum training for citizenship ;
- (3) High School Education of 6 years for pupils of the age of 11 to 17, selected, on completion of the Junior Basic stage, on an average of 1 out of 5 pupils in that stage, on the basis of ability, aptitude, and general promise, to serve not merely as a preliminary to University but also to entry into occupations and professions ;
- (4) University Education for 1 out of 15 High school pupils and creation of an Indian University Grants Committee to exercise supervision over it in the country as a whole ;
- (5) Technical Education, including Commercial Education and Art Education in relation to Industry, and creation of an All-India body called "National Council for Technical Education" to exercise general control over it ;
- (6) Adult Education (including Vocational Education as well as Literacy Education) for illiterate adults ;
- (7) Training and Improvement of the conditions of service of teachers ;
- (8) Health and Physical Education ;
- (9) Provision for Recreative and Social activities for young persons of the age of 14 to 20 who have left school ;
- (10) Establishment of Employment Bureaus for school leavers and University graduates ;
- (11) Special provision for the education of the mentally and physically handicapped, such as the deaf-mute, the blind, the crippled, and the speech-defective ;
- (12) Creation of a strong Education Department at the

Centre to provide stimulus and assistance to Provincial Departments of Public Instruction.

The recommendations made in the Report were generally accepted by the Government of India and the following measures, as recommended therein, were taken by them :

(1) A separate Department of Education (since expanded into a Ministry of Education) was constituted with powers to deal with education in Centrally Administered Areas, Central Universities, University Grants Committee, Central Advisory Board of Education, Bureau of Education, Technical Education, Government of India Scholarships for Technical Training Abroad, Welfare of students overseas, Scientific Liaison Officers, Cultural Co-operation, and Further Education of Demobilised Personnel.

(2) An Indian University Grants Committee was constituted, to act in a consultative and advisory capacity with regard to the Central Universities, with power to consider applications from others if and when received.

(3) An All-India Council for Technical Education was constituted. An ad hoc committee called the Higher Technological Education Committee was also set up to advise on the provision of facilities for technological education on the lines of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the USA.

(4) The Bureau of Education was reconstituted to collect up to date information on educational progress in India and

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Free India

abroad and to analyse and index the information collected with a view to meeting educational inquiries. With the change in the political status of India from that of a dependency of a foreign power to that of an independent state since August 15, 1947, discussion has started on "Education in Free India." The subject engaged the attention of the All-India Education Conference held at Rewa in December, 1947. The following scheme prepared by the present writers was taken as basis for discussion by the Conference :

In 1948-49, the cost per pupil was Rs. 18.3 for Primary Education ; Rs. 52.9 for Secondary Education ; and Rs. 344.5 for Higher Education.

In the year 1948-49, a commission was also appointed by the Government of India with Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan

as its Chairman, to consider the whole subject of University Education in the light of the change in the political status of India. It recommended :

I. *Regarding Teaching Staff and their service conditions :*

(1) That the importance of the teacher and his responsibility be recognised ;

(2) That conditions in universities which are suffering from lack of finances and consequent demoralisation be greatly improved ;

(3) That there be four classes of teachers, Readers, Lecturers, and Instructors ;

(4) That each university should have some Research Fellows ;

(5) That promotions from one category to another be solely on grounds of merit ;

(6) That the scales of salaries for University teachers be :

Professors : Rs. 900-50-1350

Readers : „ 600-30-900

Lecturers : „ 300-25-600

Instructors or

Fellows „ 250/-

Research Fellows „ 250-25-500

(7) That the scales of salaries for affiliated colleges with no post-graduate classes be :

Lecturers : Rs. 200-15-320-20-400

Senior Posts : Rs. 400-25-600 (two in each college)

Principals : Rs. 600-40-800

That for colleges which have post-graduate classes the grades be :

Lecturer : Rs. 200-15-320-400-25-500

Senior Posts : 500-25-900 (two in each college)

Principals : Rs. 800-40-1000

(8) That care be taken for the selection of proper teachers ;

(9) That the proportion of junior posts (Lecturers and Instructors) to senior ones (Professors and Readers) be roughly 2 : 1 ;

(10) That the age of retirement be ordinarily 60, but extensions be allowed upto 64 in the case of a Professor ;

(11) That conditions regarding Provident Fund, leave and hours of work be definitely laid down.

II. Regarding Standards of Teaching :

(1) That the standard of admission to the University courses should correspond to that of the present intermediate examination, *i.e.*, the completion of 12 years of study at a school and an intermediate college ;

(2) That in each province a large number of well-equipped and well-staffed intermediate colleges (with classes IX to XII or VI to XII) be established ;

(3) That in order to divert students to different vocations after 10 or 12 years of schooling, a large number of occupational institutions be opened ;

(4) That refresher courses be organised by the Universities for high school and intermediate college teachers ;

(5) That to avoid overcrowding at universities and colleges, the maximum number in the Arts and Science faculties of a teaching university be fixed at 3000 and in an affiliated college at 1500 ;

(6) That the number of working days be substantially increased to ensure a minimum of 180 in the year, exclusive of examination days : with three terms, each of about 11 weeks' duration ;

(7) That lectures be carefully planned and supplemented by tutorials, library work, and written exercises ;

(8) That there be no *prescribed* text-books for any courses of study ;

(9) That attendance at lectures be compulsory for undergraduate student as at present and that private candidates of only certain categories be allowed to appear for public examinations. An experiment should, however, be made with evening colleges for working people.

(10) That tutorial instruction be developed in all institutions imparting University education ;

(11) That University libraries be greatly improved ;

(12) That the laboratories be improved in buildings, fittings, equipment, workshops, and technicians.

III. Regarding Courses of Study :

(1) That general education in secondary schools should include an acquaintance with one's physical environment ; an introduction to the basic ideas of science, physical and biological ; the precise and effective use of language as a means of commun-

cation ; an appreciation of the higher values of life as enshrined in literature ; and an understanding of the processes involved in working and living together. These should be presented with great simplicity in the early years and with gradually increasing range and thoroughness as the years pass.

(2) That the content of general education as indicated above be incorporated in the secondary school and college courses ;

(3) That the courses of study in the ninth and tenth grades may include ; *i.* Mother-Tongue ; *ii.* Federal Language (comprehension and use in simple everyday situations) or A Classical or Modern Indian Language (for those whose mother tongue is the Federal Language) ; *iii.* English (comprehension and simple composition) ; *iv.* Elementary Mathematics ; *v.* General Science (Physical and Biological) ; *vi.* Social Studies (including a brief outline of World History with emphasis on the History and Geography of India.) *vii.* & *viii.* Not less than two of the following subjects : (*a*) A classical language, (*b*) A Modern Language, (*c*) Additional Mathematics, (*d*) Physics (*e*) Chemistry, (*f*) Biology, (*g*) Additional History, (*h*) Music, (*i*) Painting, (*j*) Craft-work, (*k*) Domestic Science, (*l*) Book-Keeping and Accounts, (*m*) Type-writing and Commercial Practice, (*n*) Agricultural Science, (*o*) General Engineering Science.

(4) That the courses of study in the eleventh and twelfth grades may include the following : *i.* Mother tongue, *ii.* Federal Language or a classical or a Modern Indian Language (for those whose mother-tongue happens to be the Federal Language) ; *iii.* English ; *iv.* General Science (Physical and Biological or Social Studies including Elements of Economics and Civics) ; *v.* & *vi.* Not less than two of the following subjects : (*a*) History (Indian, European, World), (*b*) Geography (and Geology), (*c*) Economics, (*d*) Civics, (*e*) A classical Language (Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Latin, Greek), (*f*) A Modern Indian Language (Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, etc.), (*g*) A modern European Language (English, French, German, etc.) (*h*) Logic ; (*i*) Psychology, (*j*) Music, (*k*) Drawing ; (*l*) Home Science (*m*) Physiology and Hygiene, (*n*) Mathematics, (*o*) Physics, (*p*) Chemistry, (*q*) Biology, (*r*) Elements of Accountancy and Book-keeping, (*s*) Elements of Banking, (*t*) Business Methods, (*u*) Economic History and Economic Geography, (*v*) Steno-typing, (*w*) Industrial Organi-

zation, (x) Commercial Arithmetic, (y) Elements of Soil Science.

(5) That General Education should continue into the more mature years of the student's life, and should aim at making him familiar with his physical and social environments, and with human institutions and ideals.

(6) That Arts and Science students for the First Degree, whether Pass or Honours, have a three years' course of the Federal Language or (if that happens to be the mother-tongue) a classical or a Modern Indian Language and English for Arts students ; and not less than two subjects, preferably one of the Humanities Group and one of the Social Studies Group as indicated below :

<i>Humanities</i>	<i>Social Studies</i>
(1) A Classical or Modern Indian Language,	(7) Politics ;
(2) English, French, or German.	(8) Economics ; (9) Sociology ;
(3) Philosophy ;	(10) Psychology ;
(4) History ;	(11) Anthropology ;
(5) Mathematics ;	(12) Geography ;
(6) Fine Arts ;	(18) Home-Economics.

For Science Students : not less than two of the following subjects ; (1) Mathematics ; (2) Physics, (3) Chemistry ; (4) Botany ; (5) Zoology ; (6) Geology.

(7) That the Master's degree be given to Honours students after one year of study beyond the Bachelor's degree, and to Pass students after two years of study beyond the Bachelor's degree.

IV. Regarding Post-Graduate Teaching and Research :

(1) That there should be uniformity in the regulations for the M. A. and M. Sc. degrees ;

(2) That the training for the Ph. D. degree should extend over a period for at least two years ;

(3) The teaching universities should develop research training in as many branches of knowledge as they can, while the affiliating universities should develop post-graduate and research departments in subjects in which they can secure services of scholars of high quality ;

(4) That there should be a certain number of research fellowships in each university for students who have taken the

Ph. D. degree and wish to pursue a career of scholarship and research ;

(5) That the D. Litt. and D. Sc. degrees should be awarded on published work of outstanding quality and conspicuous originality ;

(6) That the Ministry of Education should institute a large number of scholarships and free places for really good students at the M. Sc. and Ph. D. stages ;

(7) That fundamental research should be the primary concern of the universities, and that universities should not be precluded from taking up special applied problems concerning their own regions.

V. Regarding Professional Education :

A. Agricultural.

(1) That agricultural education be recognised as a major national issue ;

(2) That the study of agriculture in primary, secondary, and higher education should be given high priority in national economic planning ;

(3) That so far as is feasible, agricultural education, agricultural research, and the formulation of agricultural policy, should be in the hands of persons and groups of associations of persons, who by intimate association, participation, and experience have first-hand penetrating knowledge of agricultural life ;

(4) That so far as is feasible, agricultural education be given a rural setting, so that it shall include direct participation in and experience with agricultural life and practice ;

(5) That the existing agricultural research laboratories be supported and expanded to the full extent that the quality of their worth justifies.

B. Commerce.

(1) That during the period of his study at the university a commerce student should be given opportunities for practical work in three or four different kinds of firms ;

(2) That after graduation some of the commerce students be advised to specialise in particular profession like Accountancy and receive the requisite practical training ;

(3) That the training for the Master's degree in Commerce be less bookish and confined practically to a small number.

C. Education :

- (1) That the courses be re-modelled and more time be given to school practice and more weight be given to practice in assessing the students' performance ;
- (2) That suitable schools be used for practical training ;
- (3) That students be encouraged to fall with the current practice of a school and make the best of it ;
- (4) That the bulk of the training college staff be recruited from people who have first hand experience of school teaching ;
- (5) That the courses on the Theory of Education be flexible and adoptable to local circumstances ;
- (6) That students be encouraged to proceed to the Master's degree only after some years of experience of teaching ;
- (7) That original work by Professors and Lecturers be planned on an All-India basis.

D. Engineering and Technology :

- (1) That steps be taken to improve the usefulness of the existing engineering and technological institutes ;
- (2) That the number of engineering schools of different grades be increased ;
- (3) That engineering schools cover a longer number of fields and branches of engineering to meet the increasing needs of the country ;
- (4) That engineering courses of study include general education and basic physical and engineering services and towards the end of the courses, specialisation in some special field ;
- (5) That as effective engineering education requires works practice along with academic study, this should be secured as work during vacations or as post-graduate works training or as participation in work and study programme during the under-graduate years ;
- (6) That, wherever possible, the existing engineering and technological colleges be upgraded for post-graduate training and research in selected subjects ;
- (7) That steps be taken to start without delay higher technological institutes ;
- (8) That enquiries be made of possibilities for training for graduate engineer, scientists, as employees in American industries and other institutions, so that practical "Know how" may be quickly secured for India's industries ;

(9) That engineering colleges be not controlled or dominated in their administration by Industries or other Government Departments but that they should be closely associated with universities.

E. Law :

(1) That the existing law colleges be thoroughly re-organised ;

(2) That the staff of the Law Faculties be recruited and controlled by the universities in a manner similar to Arts and Science Faculties ;

(3) That a three-year degree course in pre-legal and general studies be required for admission to law courses ;

(4) That a three-year degree course offered in special legal subjects, the last year being given over largely to practical work such as apprenticeship in advocates' chambers ;

(5) That the staff should be whole-time and part-time ;

(6) That law classes be scheduled only during the regular hours of teaching ;

(7) That students pursuing degree course in law shall not ordinarily be permitted to carry other degree courses simultaneously ;

(8) That opportunities for research be available in every law faculty ;

(9) That progress tests be introduced and that examinations be by compartments, both time and subject-wise.

VI. Regarding Examinations :

(1) That university degree should not be required for Government administrative services. Special State examinations for recruitment to the various services should be organised and be open to whosoever cared to take them :

(2) That credit should be given for classwork in courses for the B. A., B. Sc., M. A., and M. Sc.,

(3) That the examination for the first degree should be given subject-wise and time-wise and not at once at the end of the degree course ;

(4) That none should be appointed as an examiner unless he has taught the subject of examination for at least five years ;

(5) That examiners should not be appointed continuously for more than three years ;

- (6) That marking by the examiners should be done under closely controlled conditions ;
- (7) That 70% or more marks should be required for the First Class ; 55 to 69% for the Second Class ; and at least 40% for the third ;
- (8) That the system of giving grace marks be abolished ;
- (9) That Vive Voce examination should be employed only for the post-graduate professional degrees.

In the year 1950, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation held at Mysore a Seminar on Rural Adult Education.

The work of the Seminar was carried out by four working groups, each specialising in one major aspect of rural adult education under the guidance of UNESCO experts.

The first group dealt with literacy in rural adult education, the second group with health and home life of rural adult population, the third group with the economic aspects of rural adult education, and the fourth group with the social and citizenship aspects.

The main conclusions reached by the first group were that Governments should take more active interest in rural adult education and not concentrate all their efforts on elementary and secondary education; that literacy teaching was only one aspect of rural adult education and that if it was not followed up by well-conceived and carefully planned education programmes, it would inevitably result in lapse into illiteracy ; that to prevent this, it was necessary to prepare and distribute suitable reading material on subjects closely related to their daily life and treated in such a way as to drive home to the business and bosoms of those for whom the material was intended ; that the distribution of this reading material would be best accomplished by the setting up of rural libraries of up to date type, and that in setting them up no pains should be spared to work out the two grand principles of modern libraries, viz., that every reader must have his book and that every book must have its reader ; that energetic work and careful planning were needed to carry out this work efficiently and to prevent it from degenerating into mere show as it was likely to do.

The findings of the second group were : that for adequate health service, the basic requirements were a midwife for every

5000 people ; and a health centre composed of a public health nurse, one or two midwives, a sanitary inspector, and a social worker for every 10,000 of the population ; and a health unit composed of several health centres and a dispensary under a medical officer for every 30,000 of the population ; and further that every village should have its local health service under a duly elected and properly trained representative of the people ; and that all attempts at improvement should begin with the woman who is the pivot of the home.

The third group considered that as the agricultural population in Asian countries was under employed, full employment should be ensured for it by the introduction or re-introduction of small cottage industries and improvement of existing ones ; and therefore recommended a comprehensive survey of the primary needs of the rural communities and a listing, in order of priority, of the cottage industries to be established, and stressed the importance of the proper organisation, on co-operative lines, of the working and supervision of these industries.

The fourth group considered that as the tendency to isolation was a real danger in most Asian villages, it had to be combated by a scheme of citizenship training which would lay stress on personal dignity and worth and respect and consideration for all, irrespective of social and economic status and political or religious affiliations ; on co-operation in community activities ; on inter-dependence of the cultural, social, and economic life of the country as a whole ; on the concept of a world state and the implications of world citizenship ; on cultural and national heritages ; and on political rights and duties. It was not only information that was to be imported on these various subjects but activities and experiences had to be organised to give life and reality to the international items. In considering the media and methods of this training the time-honoured media of proved worth, such as festivals, fairs, folklore, folk dances, and dramas, should not be discarded and modern mechanistic media, such as the press, the radio, and the film, should be handled with care, knowledge, and skill.

In 1952 Government of India appointed a Secondary Education Commission to examine the existing system of Secondary Education in the country and to suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement. This Commission completed

its work in June 1953, and reported the following basic shortcomings and defects in the existing system :

"Firstly, the education given in our schools is isolated from life. Secondly, it is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the whole personality of the student.... Thirdly, until comparatively recently, English was both the medium of instruction and a compulsory subject of study. Fourthly, the methods of teaching generally practised failed to develop in the students either independence of thought or initiative in action. Fifthly, the increase in the size of the classes had considerably reduced personal contact between teachers and pupils. Finally, the dead weight of the examination had tended to curb the teachers' initiative, to stereotype the curriculum, to promote mechanical and lifeless methods of teaching, to discourage all spirit of experimentation, and to place the stress on wrong or unimportant things in Education," and made the following principal recommendations :

Organisation :

(1) That Secondary Education should commence after four or five years Primary or Junior Basic Education and should include (a) the Middle or Senior Basic or Junior Secondary stage of 3 years and (b) the Higher Secondary stage of 4 years ;

(2) That multi-purpose schools should be established, wherever possible, to provide varied courses of interest to students with diverse interests, aptitudes, and abilities and that those who have completed such courses should be given opportunities to take up higher specialised courses in polytechnics or technological institutions ;

(3) That special facilities for agricultural education should be provided in all States.

Technical Education :

(4) That Technical Schools should be started in large numbers either separately or as part of multi-purpose schools and that Central Technical Institutes should be established in larger cities to cater to the needs of several local schools ;

(5) That suitable legislation should be passed, making it obligatory on industry to afford facilities to students for practical training.

Public Schools :

(6) That the pattern of education given in public schools

should be brought into reasonable conformity to the general pattern of national education and that such schools should gradually become self-supporting.

Co-education :

(7) That while no distinction need be made between education imparted to boys and girls, special facilities for the study of Home Science should be made available in all girls' schools and in co-educational or mixed schools.

Study of Languages :

(8) That the mother-tongue or the regional language should generally be the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school stage ;

(9) That during the middle school stage, every child should be taught at least two languages and that English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the Junior Basic stage but not both in the same year ;

(10) That at the High and Higher Secondary stage, at least two languages should be studied, one of them being the mother-tongue or the regional language.

Curriculum :

(11) That at the middle school stage, curriculum should include (a) languages ; (b) social studies ; (c) general science ; (d) mathematics ; (e) art and music ; (f) craft ; and (g) physical education ;

(12) That in the second year of the High School or Higher Secondary stage diversified courses of instruction in such subjects as (a) Humanities, (b) Sciences, (c) Technology, (d) Commerce, (e) Agriculture, (f) Fine Arts, and (g) Home Science should be introduced ; the four subjects of (h) Languages, (i) General Science, (j) Social Studies, and (k) Craft being made common for all.

Text Books :

(13) That except in the case of languages in which definite text books should be prescribed for each class to ensure proper gradation, single text books should not be prescribed but a reasonable number of books which satisfy the standards laid down should be recommended, leaving the choice to the schools concerned ;

(14) That with a view to improving the quality of text books,

a high-power, independent Text Book Committee should be constituted to arrange for the production, publication, and sale of text books and other books needed for schools, and to maintain a fund from the amount realised from their sale and utilise it in giving honoraria to authors, royalties to publishers, and scholarships and necessary books to poor and deserving students, in contributing to the cost of supply of milk, mid-day meals, and evening refreshments to school children, and for such other purposes conducive to the improvement of secondary education ;

(15) That frequent changes in text books and books prescribed for study should be discouraged.

Methods of Teaching :

(16) That methods of teaching should aim less at imparting the maximum of knowledge and more at training students in the techniques of study and methods of acquiring knowledge through personal effort and initiative ;

(17) That the emphasis in teaching should shift from verbalism and memorisation to learning through purposeful, concrete, and realistic situations and that for this purpose the principles of the "Activity Method" and the "Project Method" should be assimilated in school practice ;

(18) That in the teaching of all subjects special stress should be placed on clear thinking and clear expression both in speech and in writing ;

(19) That a well-thought-out attempt should be made to adapt methods of instruction to the needs of individual pupils as much as possible, so that dull, average, and bright students may all have a chance to progress at their own pace ;

(20) That teaching methods should provide opportunities for students to learn actively and to apply practically the knowledge that they have acquired in the class room and that, therefore, "expression work" of different kinds must form part of the programme in every school subject.

The Education of Character :

(21) That the education of character should be envisaged as the responsibility of all teachers and should be provided through every single aspect of the school programme ;

(22) That to promote discipline, personal contact between teachers and pupils should be strengthened and self-government

in the form of house system, with prefects or monitors and students councils, should be introduced in all schools.

Religious and Moral Instruction :

(23) That religious instruction may be given in schools only on a voluntary basis and outside the regular school hours, such instruction being confined to the children of the particular faith concerned and given with the consent of the parents and the managements.

Extra-Curricular Activities :

(24) That Extra-curricular activities should form an integral part of the education imparted in the school and that all teachers should devote a definite time to such activities ;

(25) That training in First Aid, St. John's Ambulance and Junior Red Cross work should be encouraged in all schools.

Guidance and Counselling :

(26) That educational guidance should receive much greater attention on the part of the educational authorities ;

(27) That in order to broaden the pupils' understanding of the scope, nature, and significance of various occupations and industries, films should be prepared to show the nature of the work in various industries, and this should be supplemented by actual visits ;

(28) That the services of trained guidance officers and career masters should be made available gradually and in an increasing measure to all educational institutions ;

(29) That the Centre should take up the responsibility of opening in different regions, centres for training guidance officers and career masters, to which each State may send a number of teachers or other suitable persons for training.

Physical Welfare and Students :

(30) That a properly organised school medical service should be built up in all states and a thorough medical examination of all pupils and necessary follow-up and treatment, where necessary, should be carried out in all schools.

Physical Education :

(31) That physical activities should be made to suit the individual and his capacity for physical endeavour ;

(32) That all teachers below the age of 40 should actively

participate in many of the physical activities of students and thus make them a lively part of the school programme ;

(33) That full records of physical activities of the students should be maintained ;

(34) That the training in physical education should be comprehensive enough to include all aspects of health education ;

(35) That the teachers of physical education should be associated with the teaching of subjects like Physiology and Hygiene and given the same status as other teachers of similar qualifications ;

(36) That the existing facilities for the training of teachers of physical education should be expanded by increase in the seats in the existing colleges, by opening new colleges, where necessary, and by reorganising some of the institutions as ALL-INDIA TRAINING CENTRES to which aid may be given both by the Centre and States.

Examination and Evaluation :

(37) That the number of external examinations should be reduced and the element of subjectivity in the essay-type tests should be minimised by introducing objective tests and also by changing the type of questions ;

(38) That in order to find out the pupils' all-round progress and to determine his future, a proper system of school records should be maintained for every pupil, indicating the work done by him from time to time and his attainments in different spheres ;

(39) That in the final assessment of the pupils, due credit should be given to the external tests and the school records of the pupils ;

(40) That the system of symbolic rather than numerical marking should be adopted for evaluating and grading the work of the pupils in external and internal examinations and in maintaining the school records ;

(41) That there should be only one public examination at the completion of the secondary school course ;

(42) That the certificate awarded should contain, besides the results of the public examination in different subjects, the results of the school tests in subjects not included in the public examination as well as the gist of the schools records ;

(43) That the system of compartmental examinations should be introduced at the final public examination.

Improvement of the Teaching Personnel :

(44) That a reasonably uniform procedure should be devised for the selection and appointment of teachers for all types of schools ;

(45) That teachers working in High Schools should be graduates with a degree in education ; that those who teach technical subjects should be graduates in the subject concerned with the necessary training for teaching it ; that teachers in Higher Secondary Schools should possess higher qualifications, somewhat similar to those prescribed in some universities for teachers of Intermediate Colleges ;

(46) That teachers possessing the same qualifications and performing the same type of work should be treated on a par in the matter of grades of salary, irrespective of the type of institution in which they may be working ;

(47) That special committees should be set up to review the scales of pay of teachers of all grades and to recommend such scales of pay as will meet in a fair and just measure the varying cost of living ;

(48) That in order to relieve teachers from anxieties about their own and their dependents' future, which affect the efficiency of their work, the system of triple-benefit scheme, pension-cum-provident-fund-cum-insurance, should be introduced in all States ;

(49) That Arbitration Boards or Committees should be established to look into the appeals and grievances of teachers and to consider matters relating to suspension, dismissal etc. ;

(50) That the age of retirement in the case of physically fit and competent teachers may be extended to 60 years with the approval of the Director of Education ;

(51) That the children of teachers should be given free education throughout the school stage ;

(52) That through a system of co-operative house-building societies, teachers should be provided with quarters so as to enable them to live near the school and devote more time to the many-sided activities of the school ;

(53) That teachers wishing to go to health resorts or holiday camps or to attend educational conferences, seminars, etc. should be given travel concessions and leave facilities ;

(54) That teachers should be given free medical attendance and treatment in hospitals and dispensaries ;

(55) That leave rules should, as far as possible, be uniform for all educational institutions ;

(56) That opportunities should be provided on a generous scale for teachers to visit different institutions within the country and, in special cases, to go abroad on study leave for higher studies ;

(57) That the practice of private tuition by teachers should be abolished ;

(58) That persons in high public position should give special recognition to the teachers' social status and to the dignity of their profession ;

(59) That in order to attract persons of the right type to the responsible position of the Headmaster, the emoluments of the post should be made sufficiently attractive.

Teacher-Training :

(60) That there should be only two types of institutions for teacher-training : (a) for those who have taken the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate, for whom the period of training should be two years and (b) for graduates for whom the training may, for the present, be of one academic year, but may be extended, as a long-term programme, to two academic years ;

(61) That the teacher-trainees should receive training in one or more of the various extracurricular activities ;

(62) That the training colleges should, as a normal part of their work, arrange refresher courses in special subjects, practical training in workshop, and professional conferences ;

(63) That the training colleges should conduct research work in various important aspects of pedagogy and for this purpose they should have under their control an experimental or demonstration school ;

(64) That no fees should be charged in training colleges ; that during the period of training all student teachers should be given suitable stipends by the State ; and that teachers in service should be given their regular school salaries ;

(65) That all training colleges should provide residential facilities so as to be able to arrange community life and other suitable activities for the trainees ;

(66) That for the Master's degree in education only trained

graduates who have normally done a minimum of three years' teaching should be admitted ;

(67) That there should be free exchange between Professors of training colleges, selected Headmasters of schools, and Inspecting Officers ;

(68) That, in order to meet the shortage of women teachers, special part-time training courses should be provided.

Inspection of Schools :

(69) That the true role of an Inspector should be to study the problems of each school, and to view them comprehensively in the context of educational objectives, to formulate suggestions for improvement, and to help the teachers to carry out his advice and recommendations ;

(70) That the persons selected as Inspectors should possess high academic qualifications adequate teaching experience or experience as Headmasters of High schools for a minimum prescribed period ; and that in addition to direct recruitment, Inspectors should be drawn from (a) teachers of ten years' experience, (b) Headmasters of High schools, and (c) duly qualified staff of training colleges who may be allowed to work as such for a period of three to five years ;

(71) That in order to evaluate the academic side of activities of a school there should be a panel of experts, with the Inspector as Chairman, to inspect the schools ;

(72) That three persons may be chosen from senior teachers of Headmasters to visit the schools in the company of the Inspector and to spend two or three days with the staff, discussing with them and with the school authorities, all aspects of school life and problems.

Management and Recognition of Schools :

(73) That recognition to schools should be given only on clearly defined conditions which will ensure their proper running and the maintenance of proper standards ;

(74) That the Managing Boards of all schools should be registered and that they should have Headmasters of the schools concerned as their ex-officio members ;

(75) That no member of the Managing Board of a school should directly or indirectly interfere in its internal administration ;

(76) That every management should be required to draw up definite rules of service where in the conditions pertaining to salary, leave, etc., should be definitely laid down ;

(77) That the scales of fees fixed by the management of a school should be subject to approval by the Department of Education.

School Buildings :

(78) That normally, in designing buildings for schools, care should be taken to see that an area of not less than 10 sq. ft. is provided per student in the class-room ;

(79) That the optimum number of boys to be admitted to any class should be 30 and the maximum should not in any case exceed 40 ; that the optimum number in the school should be 500 and the maximum should not exceed 750 ;

(80) That so far as possible, quarters should be provided for teachers in rural areas as well as in urban areas to attract suitable persons to the profession and to facilitate development of a corporate community life in the schools.

Hours of Work and Vacations :

(81) That considerable latitude should be given to schools to arrange their school hours in such a way as not to interfere with the activities of the community and the general climatic and occupational conditions prevailing in the locality ;

(82) That, as a rule, the total number of working days in a school be not less than two hundred ; that the working hours per week should be at least 35 periods of about forty-five minutes each ; and that the school should work regularly for six days in the week, one of the days being a half day, when the teachers and students might meet informally and work together on various extra-curriculum and social projects ;

(83) That school holidays need not be identical with public holidays as declared by Government and that, normally, during the year, there should be a summer vacation of two months and two breaks of ten to fifteen days at suitable periods during the year.

Recruitment to Public Service :

(84) That selection for and recruitment to public service should be made successively at definite age periods, *i.e.*, at the age of 16 to 18, of 19 to 21, and of 22 to 24.

Finance :

(85) That the Centre should assume a certain amount of direct responsibility for the contemplated reorganisation of secondary education and give financial aid for the purpose ;

(86) That surplus funds from the religious and charitable endowments should be diverted to educational purposes ;

(87) That a cess called the Industrial Education cess should be levied, the amount collected being utilised in the furtherance of technical and vocational education at the Secondary stage ;

(88) That a certain percentage of the net revenue from nationalised industries or concerns, such as Railways, Communications, Post and Telegraphs, etc., should be made available for the promotion of technical education in certain fields and ;

(89) That the State Governments and the Centre should, wherever possible, assign lands to schools for play grounds, buildings, or agricultural farms, and other necessary purposes without any charge.

The official language of India, since it became a Republic on January 26, 1950, has changed from English to Hindi written in the Devanagri script, with the International form of Indian numerals. For a period of fifteen years, however, English will continue to be used, as at present, as the official language and may, even after this period, continue to be used, if so decided by Parliament, for specific purposes.

Any State of the Indian Union is, however, free to adopt any of the languages in use in that State, or Hindi, as its official language ; though between one State and another, as also between the States and the Union, Hindi is to be the language of inter-communication.

English continues, nevertheless, as the language of the Supreme Court of India and of the High Courts, as also of Law and as regards the question of the medium university education, a conference of Chief Ministers, held in the year 1961, declared that the tendency of regional languages to become the media for university education, though desirable in many ways might lead to the isolation of such Universities from the rest of India, unless there was a link in the shape of an All-India language. Teachers and students would not be able to migrate easily from one university to another and the cause of education would suffer from lack of a common link between universities

in different linguistic areas. Such a common link could only be English at present.

As regards the change of the official language from English to Hindi, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit declared at the Calcutta University Convocation in the year 1962 that English had become the window to the world and the key to higher learning in science and technology. If English was rejected, our effective participation in international affairs might become difficult.

The Central Government has, however, declared that English would continue to be used as an associate language for All-India official purposes even after Hindi becomes the All-India official language.

Section 343 of the Indian Constitution—has since been amended by the English Language Bill of 1963, that notwithstanding the expiration of the 15-year period, English may continue to be used in addition to Hindi for all official purposes of the Union for which it had been used previously and for the transaction of business in Parliament.

A National Emotional Integration Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Sampurnanand, was appointed by the Government in May, 1961. It expressed the opinion that there should be a common pattern of education in the country which will minimise confusion and co-ordinate and maintain standards, and that similar opportunities for education should be made available in all parts of the country.

It suggested that there should be more terminal stages in the pattern of education, where pupils can branch off to vocational or semi-vocational training.

It observed that a high school stage at the end of 10 years was a necessity and that 12 years of education before the University degree course was equally a necessity, the two-year classes following the high school stage being attached to the schools and called the higher secondary classes or attached to degree colleges as pre-university classes.

It recommended that higher secondary classes should be planned as multipurpose or comprehensive institutions, providing (a) preparatory courses for students proceeding to college ; (b) all-round terminal education with a semi-vocational or a semi-professional preparation ; and (c) terminal education for a vocation.

It endorsed the three-language formula of language-teaching in schools, adopted by the Chief Ministers of States, requiring compulsory teaching of the mother-tongue or the regional language, Hindi, and English in all secondary schools in non-Hindi-speaking areas ; and Hindi, English, and some other Indian language, preferably one of South India in Hindi-speaking areas.

While recognising the importance of the increasing use of the regional language as the medium in Universities, the Committee urged that safeguards should be devised to ensure the maintenance of high standards.

It also placed stress on the need for links between Universities in different parts of the country, and for special attention to the teaching of the link-languages—Hindi and English, when the change over to the regional language is accomplished. It also stressed the need for providing English as an associate medium of instruction in the Universities as a necessary corollary to the recognition of English as an associate official language so that Universities might not be cut off from one another and from Universities in other parts of the world.

It also suggested that a special subject dealing with national integration should be made compulsory for all college students throughout the country at the degree level ; failure in this paper, however, not involving failure in the whole examination.

The Sanskrit Commission appointed by the Government recommended that in secondary schools, all Indian students should be taught three languages, namely, (1) the Mother-tongue (or the regional language), (2) English and (3) Sanskrit (or, in some special cases, some other—classical language equivalent to Sanskrit, e.g., Arabic, Persian, old Tamil, Latin or Greek) ; and that Hindi should be taught at the college stage to such students as desire to enter All-India services, or, if it is to be taught in the school, the three-language scheme recommended above should be so modified that Hindi or, for Hindi-speaking students, some other modern Indian language, preferably South Indian, is allowed as an alternative to English.

In any scheme of adjustment with Hindi, the Commission was against providing Hindi as an alternative to Sanskrit.

The Commission recommended that the traditional Pathasala system of Sanskrit education and higher studies should be

continued and preserved and recognised as an accepted form of education, like any type of school and college education.

Educational Administration :

Educational Administration in the Republic of India is in charge of a separate Ministry of Education in the Central Government, with headquarters at New Delhi.

In each of the constituent States of the Republic also, there is a Ministry of Education in charge of a Minister. Each State Ministry is autonomous in educational matters concerning its own territory, except in respect of educational development programmes in aid of which they seek grants from the Central Government. These are required to be submitted for examination and approval by the Central Ministry of Education. Under the Minister of Education who is in general control of Education in each state, there is a Director in charge of its Department of Education, who acts as its executive head, with the Inspecting staff and the teaching staff of Government educational institutions.

Education in the Five Year Plan :

In this plan the principal requirements of the present educational situation are stated to be : the orientation of the educational system and integration of its different stages and branches ; expansion in various fields, especially in basic and social education, improvement of the existing secondary and university education and the devising of a system of higher education suited to the needs of rural areas ; expansion of facilities for women's education, training of teachers, especially women teachers and teachers for basic schools ; and improvement in the pay scales and conditions of service of teachers, and, finally assistance to backward states and backward sections of the population whose educational progress has been retarded in the past.

In the field of *Pre-school Education*, it is proposed that the Central Government should promote programmes, such as research in evolving methods suited to Indian conditions, training of teachers, and assistance to private agencies to carry their work into rural areas and running model institutions.

In Basic and Primary Education, the plan contains recommendations for improving the existing system of primary education and expanding the basic system. The need to improve the

techniques of basic education and to develop methods for training teachers who have somewhat lower educational qualifications is established in each of the Part 'A' and Part 'B' States and, among Part 'C' States, in Delhi. These would comprise some pre-basic and basic schools, a post basic school, a teachers' training school and a teacher's training college.

In Secondary Education, it stresses the need for varying educational courses to suit different aptitudes and to enable the large majority of persons to fit into some vocation after completing their school career. A large number of multipurpose high schools are, therefore, needed. In these, encouragement may be given, in particular, to agriculture and allied activities and to cottage and small-scale industries.

In University Education, the need to apply suitable tests for selecting those who should receive University education and to draw as large a proportion of students as possible gainful occupations before they reach the University stage is stressed. It is also suggested that facilities for private study should be provided on a much larger scale than at present and that recruitment to the public service should be by competitive tests and the non-possession of a degree should not be an absolute bar to taking a competitive examination, and that at least one rural University should be established both for experimental purposes and for meeting the requirements of higher education, especially in relation to rural areas.

In Social Education, programmes should be organised in such a way that the needs which are felt to be urgent in any area are taken up first and, at the same time, through the success of these programmes increased resources are created for further development. Economic activities which are carried on co-operatively are invariably a favourable point at which to start. In this connection, trained organisers can make a considerable contribution. Every school or college should serve as an agency for extending social education in the neighbourhood.

In Professional Education, among the aspects concerning which recommendations are made in the plan are :

(1) Development of facilities for research and post-graduate work.

(2) Provision of courses in printing technology, woollen

A SUGGESTED SCHEME FOR EDUCATION IN FREE INDIA

Pre-Primary Stage	Primary Stage	Secondary Stage	University Stage	Literacy and Vocational Education for Illiterate Adults	Recreational and Special Activities for all
	Nursery Schools, Kindergartens, Infant Schools (7 years)—Standards I-V (7-11) Standards I-IV (16 years), to be compulsory in new parallel schools to be opened in schoolless areas and dairy School Certificates Standards I to V in existing schools in school on the basis of the pupils' areas, ending with a School Record and the primary school certificate, awarded on the basis of the pupils' School Record and the Alternative Courses results of an internal School-leaving Examination (With Continuation Classes for pupils who have left schools earlier).	VI-X (12 to 16 years), providing alternative courses, all ending with Secondary School Leaving Certificate	Under-graduate (17 to 19 years)	Post-graduate (20 years and beyond)	
General and Agricultural Course	General and Commercial Course	General and Industrial Course	General and Home Economics Course	Teacher-General and Course of Pre-Medical Training seven years (the first five years general and the last two years professional)	General and Nautical Course
Art Courses	Science Courses	Agricultural Courses	Fine Arts Courses	Medical Courses	Education Courses for Teachers (including one especially for Physical Instructors and Play-ground Supervisors)
(With Continuation Classes for Further Education for pupils who have left school earlier)					

textiles technology, silk textile technology, etc. also for business management and industrial relations.

(3) Reorientation of some of the existing institutions so as to train students for the National Certificate courses of the All India Council for Technical Education.

(4) Expansion of training facilities at the artisan and craftsman level and provision of apprenticeship schemes.

(5) Organisation of refresher courses, and

(6) Establishment of rural training centres for raising the skills of village artisans.

Regarding Women's Education, it is recommended that while women should have equal opportunities with men in various fields of education, special attention should be given to those in which they have marked aptitudes, that extensive opportunities should be afforded to them for private study and for taking the higher examinations as private candidates, and short term courses for women in general education and in crafts should also be organised.

As regards Manual Work and Social Service by Students, it is proposed that students between the ages of 18 and 22, except when they are exempted on medical grounds, should devote a period to disciplined national service that while some manual work should be encouraged as a daily routine at some stages during the courses of education, a period which may extend from six months to a year spent in manual activity. This could be organised, for instance, in relation to community projects, irrigation works, roads, slum improvements, sanitation projects, etc.

APPENDIX ONE

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND

The following statement will show how educational movements in India have closely followed similar movements in England :

- 1698 Foundation of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" and the beginning of the movement for the establishment of Charity Schools.
- 1803 Formation of the "Sunday School Union."
- 1811 Foundation of the "National Society for Promoting Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" on Dr. Andrew Bell's Monitorial Plan.
- 1833 Sanction of a Parliamentary grant of £20,000 in aid of schoolhouse and introduction of the system of grant-in-aid to schools.
- 1837 Incorporation of London University as an examining University open to all without any religious discrimination.
- 1839 Appointment of a Committee of the Privy Council to superintend the application of the Parliamentary grant for Education and introduction of the system of Government inspection of aided schools.
- 1846 Introduction of the Pupil-Teacher system of training Elementary School teachers.
- 1846 Foundation of Queen's College, London, and beginning of the movement for Girls' Education.
- 1856 Creation of an Educational Department
- 1870 Introduction of statutory School Boards with power to raise money for education from local rates.
- 1902 The Balfour Education Act.
- 1918 The Fisher Act.
- 1941 Discussion of plans for post-war education.

APPENDIX Two

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The following statement will show how educational movements in India have closely followed movements in England :

- 1598 Insertion of a Missionary Clause in the Charter of the East India Company by the British Parliament.
- 1715 Foundation of a Charity School in Madras.
- 1718 Foundation of a Charity School in Bombay.
- 1731 Foundation of a Charity School in Calcutta.
- 1812 Establishment of a Sunday School at St. Thomas's Mount, Madras.
- 1815 Foundation of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay on Bell's Monitorial Plan (now known as the Bombay Education Society).
- 1840 Appointment of a Board of Education in Bombay.
- 1842 Appointment of a Council of Education in Bengal.
- 1845 Appointment of a Council of Education in Madras.
- 1850 Recognition of the claims of Girls' Education by the Government : Foundation of Bethune Girls' School in Calcutta.
- 1855 Introduction of Grant-in-aid Rules in Madras on the English model.
- 1855 Introduction of Grant-in-aid Rules in Bengal.
- 1855 Creation of Departments of Public Instruction in the Provinces.
- 1856 Introduction of the Grant-in-aid Rules in Bombay.
- 1857 Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras on the model of London University.
- 1857 Introduction of the Pupil-Teacher system in the Bombay Presidency.
- 1871 Introduction of Local Board and Municipal systems with power to raise money for education from local sources.
- 1904 Government of India Resolution on Education.
- 1918 Beginning of the Movement for the introduction of compulsory Primary Education.

